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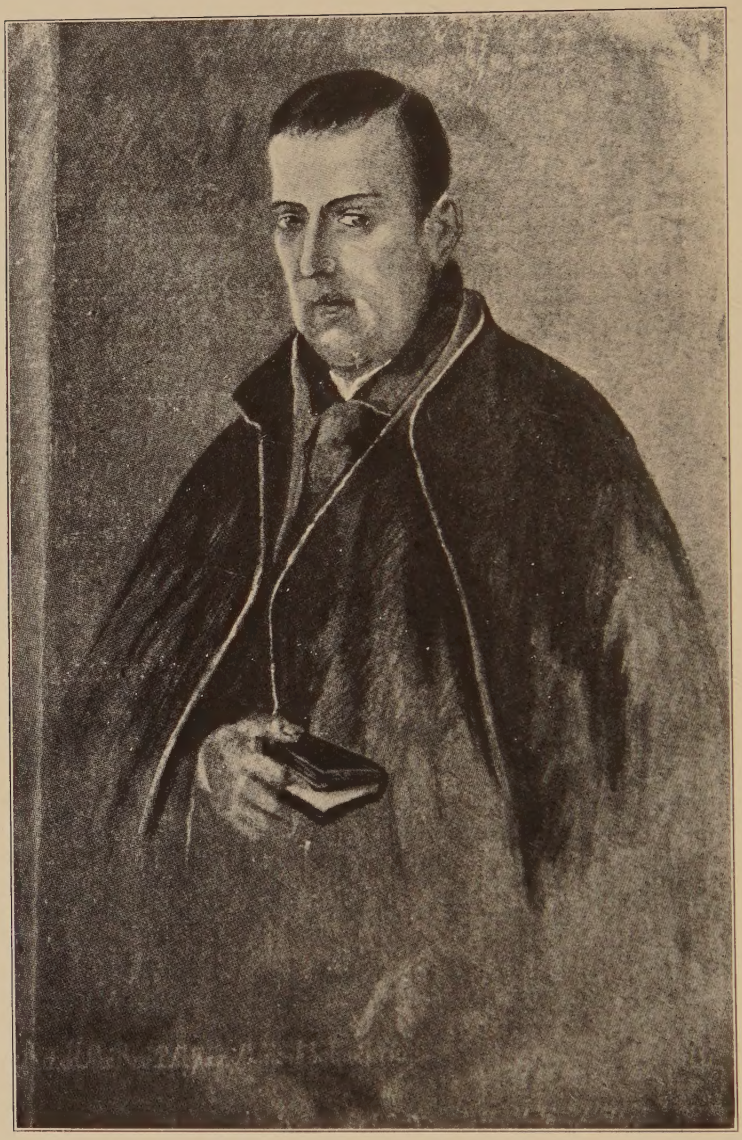

JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA

From a painting in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City

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JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA

OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS; MISSIONARY IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW SPAIN, AND APOSTOLIC CONQUEROR OF THE CALIFORNIAS

BY

MIGUEL VENEGAS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH; EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY

MARGUERITE EYER WILBUR

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CLEVELAND: 1929

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To

THE MOST REVEREND EDWARD J. HANNA
Archbishop of San Francisco

THE RIGHT REVEREND J. J. CANTWELL
Bishop of Los Angeles

C. TEMPLETON CROCKER ESQ.

1021490

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From a famous painting of Salvatierra in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City. Herein reproduced through the courtesy of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, of Santa Barbara, California. This is considered a striking likeness of Father Salvatierra, revealing not only his Spanish-Italian ancestry, but his supreme nobility of character

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Frequently known as the "Mother-Mission of the Californias." Of extraordinary importance as the first of the long chain of missions that eventually extended north to beyond San Francisco

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This was the sacred image always carried by Salvatierra, and the inspiration of his many activities. A reproduction of the original image brought by Salvatierra in 1697 to Baja California and secured for this volume by Doctor Severno Guardano, of San José del Cabo, Baja California

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A portrait of Salvatierra beholding a vision of the Lady of Loreto. Taken from Alegre *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus.* Under the portrait appears the following legend: "Worker for forty years in the vineyard of the Lord. With five Spaniards, three Indians, a crucifix, and an image of Our Lady of Loreto, he took possession, on October 6, 1697, of California, which, for more than 170 years had defied Spanish arms. Died at Guadalajara July 19, 1717."

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PREFACE

The history of the Californias, as Alta and Baja California were originally known, is incorporated largely in the records and annals of the Jesuit and Franciscan fathers. Most of these are in manuscript form and deposited abroad in the Archives of Spain and Mexico. However, many of them have been translated, among them such important records as Kino's *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, and Palou's *New California*, by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, and the Garcés diary, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, by Dr. Elliott Coues.

The *Vida de Juan María de Salvatierra* belongs in the category of the inaccessible and unusual; tapping historical fields which have been comparatively neglected. What little is known of the energetic and far-visioned Jesuits who won success where militarism had been a failure is found largely in the writings of Spanish historians. Of these, *Noticia de la California* has the greatest value; Clavijero's *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California*; Alegre's *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Nueva-España*; Ortega's *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesus*; and Gordon's *Historia de las Missiones Jesuitas en la Baja California*, though containing much valuable information are based to a considerable extent on the earlier work of Venegas. A report sent by Picolo in 1702 from Mission Loreto to Guadalajara which appears in *Lettres Edifiantes y Curieuses*, volume V, is invaluable as a summary of conditions for the first five years at the mother mission.

English accounts are found chiefly in the fine work of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt of Santa Barbara mission, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, volume I; in *North Mexican States and Texas* by Bancroft; in the *History of the Catholic Church* by Gleeson; and in *The Mother of California* by A. W. North.

A complete and full bibliography of this same general period and territory covering the work of Father Kino, a friend and co-worker of Salvatierra, is found in Kino's *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta* which forms volume IV of *Spain in the West* series.

This translation of the *Vida de Salvatierra* is made primarily with the idea of providing a connecting link, of bridging the gap, between Spanish activities in Mexico, and Spanish activities in Alta California.

In the preparation of this volume many persons have graciously and generously assisted. Among them, Dr. James Main Dixon, formerly of the Imperial College at Tokyo, and of late years at the University of Southern California, has carefully read and revised the manuscript, and has given constant and invaluable assistance. Senor José Pijoan of Pomona College has also kindly read both the original Spanish narrative and its English rendition, elucidating many obscure points relating to obsolete Spanish practices. Members of the Los Angeles Public Library staff, particularly Dr. Everett Perry, head-librarian, Miss Susana Ott, and Miss Laura Cooley, of the reference department have been unfailingly courteous and helpful. Dean Rockwell Hunt, of the University of Southern California, Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of Berkeley, Father Zephyrin Engelhardt of Santa Barbara mission, and Dr. Perry Worden of Pasadena have also taken a personal inter-

est in this account of Father Salvatierra. Through the invaluable assistance of Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco, Bishop Cantwell of Los Angeles, and C. Templeton Crocker Esq., the publication of this Life of Salvatierra has been made possible.

The rare copy of the *Vida de Juan María de Salvatierra* used in making this translation is the property of the Los Angeles Public Library, and was loaned through the kindness of Mr. Everett Perry.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

By the Translator and Editor

Lower California, historically speaking, is the slender tentacle that originally linked Mexico with Alta, or Upper California. Eagerly sought for its valuable pearl-fisheries, after the failure of various expeditions, heavily subsidized by the crown, to gain a firm foothold in this remote Spanish outpost, the Spanish colors were finally raised, in 1697, by the Jesuit fathers under the leadership of Juan María de Salvatierra at Loreto.

This founding of a permanent Spanish settlement and mission at Loreto laid the foundations for the subsequent conquest, through the medium primarily of a chain of missions, of Alta California. Less than a hundred years after Salvatierra's arrival on the peninsula, Loreto was the mission-base of the epochal Galvez-Serra expedition, and the connecting link by way of the Gulf passage for many decades after between San Diego and Mexico City.

The Salvatierra expedition was the climax of a long series of attempts to settle Lower California. Spain, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been the maritime dictator of the South Seas – as the Pacific was then known. Ship after ship, throughout these centuries, sailed from her home ports or from her outpost ports on the west coast of Mexico, bent on adding fresh territory to the already rich lands of the Spanish crown. Cortés, following on the heels of Co-

lumbus, Magellan, and Balboa, was in the vanguard of those who sailed north from Mexico in search of mysterious lands screening the Indies.

In Cortés's day no definite knowledge existed of what lay north and west of Mexico. But rumors and theories were numerous. To explore these distant lands had long been the plan of Cortés whose Mexican victories prompted him to new activities. In 1533 there sailed under orders from Cortés, from the port of Tehuantepec, two ships to explore northern waters. One of these was lost; on the other, commanded by Diego Becerra de Mendoza, mutiny broke out and Fortuno Ximenez, chief pilot, assumed leadership. It was this ship that landed in a little bay in Baja California – near the present site of La Paz Harbor. Here Ximenez, the discoverer of Lower California, was murdered.

In his handling of Mexican affairs the zeal and courage of Cortés seemed inexhaustible. Ximenez's fate merely moved him to further efforts and he publicly announced that plans were under way for a new and greater venture – a search for the mysterious and fabulously rich islands lying near Asia. Believing the peninsula, with its rich pearl-fisheries, to be one of these, Cortés crossed the Gulf, called the Mar de Cortés and, with his three ships, landed on May 1, 1535, at the very bay where Ximenez had been murdered. This he named the Bay of Santa Cruz and also probably used, since the name was generally known after this voyage, the word California.

The nucleus of a little settlement having been formed, the ships were dispatched back to the mainland for supplies. Of the three, only one returned, and Cortés was forced to leave his young colony while he went to

look for the lost vessels. Having brought them out of danger he returned again to Santa Cruz harbor. In 1536 Cortés returned to Mexico leaving his men in the hands of Francisco de Ulloa who soon followed him with the entire colony to Mexico. Cortés, though he remained in the meanwhile in Mexico, did not abandon hope of finding rich lands beyond the peninsula. With this end in view in May, 1539, he dispatched his old comrade, Francisco de Ulloa with Francisco Lopez de Gomara, on a new voyage of exploration. Touching at the peninsula which was then vaguely referred to as "California," Ulloa reached the headwaters of the Gulf, which he called Ancon de San Andrés. The reports brought back of this new land proved disappointing. Volcanoes, barren mountains, sterile plains, and scanty rainfall gave slight promise of lavish riches, and plans for further expeditions for a time were abandoned.

Interest in what was known as California or Las Islas Californias by those who believed it a group of islands, was revived mainly by the remarkable overland expedition made in the meanwhile by Cabeza de Vaca through Texas and New Mexico who reported to the viceroy the rumors that had come to his ears of incredible riches in the Indian pueblos lying north of Mexico. In the meanwhile there had arisen a keen rivalry between the viceroy, Mendoza, and Hernan Cortés, conqueror of Mexico.

Acting on these reports brought back by de Vaca, Mendoza, in 1540, sent out two expeditions, one going by land and one by sea, under orders to meet at the thirty-second latitude and join forces. Coronado went overland; Alarcón took the sea passage up the west

coast of the peninsula, spending on the way out, a few days at Santa Cruz harbor. He failed, however, to meet the overland party.

But the important fruit of Mendoza's activities was the voyage, in 1542, of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. Sent out to explore the outer coast of California, Cabrillo landed at Santa Cruz, the modern La Paz, sailing from there out into the South Seas and on north as far as Cape Mendocino, putting in, along the coast, at several excellent harbors. Epoch-making as the Cabrillo voyage undoubtedly was, with the transfer, in 1551, of the energetic Mendoza to South America, no new voyages of note were made for another fifty years to California.

Interest in the ensuing decades was diverted from these rather sterile Islas Californias far off across the Pacific to the richer Philippines. After 1556 Spain, in the hands of Philip II, became increasingly prosperous and rich, affording a ready market for rare and costly luxuries. These were supplied mainly by the Far East. Using Manila as a central port for Chinese junks from the coast towns of Asia, once a year heavily-laden galleons sailed from the Philippines bringing treasures to Acalpulco to be re-shipped across the Atlantic to the mother-country.

Throughout the later seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, the Spanish galleon was of supreme importance in Spanish activities in the remote Pacific. Expeditions sent up along the coast of California at this time were bent chiefly on finding harbors where their ships could put in for repairs and water; for the return route from Manila, taking advantage of the favorable winds and currents, carried the ships off the northern coast of California.

Furthermore, the English buccaneers – among them Drake and Cavendish – began, in the last half of the seventeenth century, seriously to impede the rich galleon trade, a situation causing deep concern to the Spanish authorities. Many of the buccaneers even used the outer harbors along the peninsula as a base of operations, from there raiding not only the ships, but also the coast towns all the way from Peru to Mexico.

There was also, in these same decades, a renewed interest in a search for the Straits of Anian, a water-passage believed to link the Atlantic with the Pacific somewhere near the present boundaries of Canada. Strategically the control of such a strait was of vital importance; interest in it reached its climax with the appearance in the South Seas of English navigation implying, as it did, a threat of possible English control of these outpost Spanish colonies.

These, together with a pious desire to convert the Indians, prompted Philip II, in 1596, to send out an edict to Gaspar de Zunniga, Viceroy of Mexico, ordering him to explore and settle California. The earliest Sebastian Viscaíno expedition was the result of this edict. With three ships, four Franciscan fathers, and a large crew, Viscaíno crossed the Gulf and, after touching at a harbor which he called San Sebastian, went on to the sheltered port, where Cortés had previously landed and which he named – because of the peaceful nature of its Indian occupants – La Paz. Here a small fort, palisades, a church, and a few huts were erected. To these men whom they believed to be deities – sons of the Sun as they called them – the natives brought generous offerings of fruits, fish, and pearls. But despite the adulation of the natives and their entreaties to re-

main among them Viscaíno, owing to the shortage of supplies, returned to Mexico.

The second voyage, in 1602, of Viscaíno is of wider interest in its bearing on the exploration of the Californias for, sailing up the coast of California as far north as 40 degrees, he discovered and named the fine port of Monterey in Alta California.

After the death, in 1598, of Philip II, Spain's power gradually diminished. The history of far-off Baja California is reflected in this change and, for the next seventy-five years or so, centers not in expeditions sent out by the crown for the purposes of exploration, but largely in commercial ventures. These, looking for pearl-fisheries off the peninsula were privately financed expeditions, operating under licenses, or patents, from the crown.

Of such a character was the expedition in 1615, of Captain Juan Iturbe whose success in finding large and valuable pearls off Lower California caused a rising wave of commercial activity. Ortega's three trips seventeen years later were also equally successful as a business venture, though his plans for a settlement to encourage trade were eventually abandoned. Later Carboneli, in his expedition of 1636, pushed further up the Gulf, looking primarily though unsuccessfully for a more fertile spot for a settlement. While pearls were found on this trip in considerable quantities, yet he reported that the country, arid and waterless, was not suitable for founding colonies.

In the meanwhile many valuable maps, records, and reports of these expeditions had been either lost, destroyed, or mislaid by their owners. This need of more accurate maps and surveys was recognized by the vice-

roy who ordered Luís Cestín de Cañas, governor of Sinaloa, in 1642, to cross the Gulf and carefully survey the coast of California. The Jesuit father, Jacinto Cortés, accompanied this expedition, and his enthusiastic reports of California and particularly of the region about La Paz as offering a fertile field for conversions stimulated the already keen ecclesiastical interest in California.

This survey was later continued by Admiral Don Pedro de Casante who came over from Spain, at the order of the crown bringing with him two Jesuits, to found a settlement in California. Though the east coast of the Gulf was carefully surveyed by this party, their plan of colonization was cut short when official orders came to return to Mexico.

Another expedition of this period was that of Bernado Bernal de Piñadero who went out under orders from the crown to settle this country. After two attempts, however, the plan was abandoned. In the meanwhile the pearl-fisheries, licensed by the crown, flourished; but they accomplished little – since they frequently antagonized the natives – of permanent value in the settlement of this new country.

The one expedition of consequence during these years of trade activity was that of 1683 headed by Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón who had with him the Jesuit fathers Eusebio Francisco Kino, Juan Bautista Copart, and Pedro Goñi. In the spring of 1683 the Spanish colours in the name of Carlos IV were raised near La Paz, and friendly overtures made to the Indians. The natives, however, proved hostile and, despite the friendliness of the fathers, caused so much difficulty that the soldiers threatened to mutiny, forcing Atondo to re-

move his colony to the safe shores of Mexico. In the fall he returned and again attempted to found a colony. This time the place selected was San Bruno, a few leagues north of his old settlement.

One of the important results of this second short-lived colony was the trip made by Father Kino west over the mountains to the South Sea where he saw some strange blue shells – the slender thread by which he later made such important discoveries. Though Atondo's colony returned to Mexico yet the interest of Father Kino was so fired by his experiences on this journey that his subsequent appeals to the Jesuit authorities and his constant voicing of the benefits to be derived from colonizing California were determining factors in its ultimate settlement, only a few years later, by the Jesuits under Salvatierra.

Directly after the abandonment of the settlement owing to fresh difficulties with the soldiers in the spring of 1684, and the excessive expense to the crown, of maintaining the colony, Admiral Atondo was transferred to sea-duty and sent out to protect the Spanish galleons. Father Kino, on the other hand, went to Guadalajara and from there to Mexico City to arouse interest and gain support for the subjection of California. Kino's and Atondo's reports were carefully examined by the Viceroy and Council who finally concluded that the only way to bring Baja California safely under Spanish control was through the efforts of the missionaries. With this end in view, a formal offer was made in 1686, to the Jesuits to colonize California with the aid of an annual subsidy of 40,000 pesos from the royal treasury. The offer was declined by the religious on the grounds that they were unwilling to assume the burdens

incident to the control of California. They offered, however, to supply missionaries wherever they were needed. It was then that Atondo was selected for a third time to colonize California, but just as he was making preparations for this journey fresh outbreaks arose among the Tarahumares Indians, and the king ordered the project abandoned.

These many expeditions leading up to the Salvatierra expedition and sent out, most of them, at heavy expense to the royal treasury, failed to found lasting settlements on the peninsula. They had planted no permanent colonies, made no important explorations, and gained little definite knowledge of the country. They had also failed definitely to settle the long-disputed question – whether this land was an island or a peninsula.

As a matter of fact the first important settlement in Baja California was made not by the king's officers, heavily backed by the royal purse, but by a mere handful of settlers. This small group, consisting of five soldiers, a commander, a cabin-boy, and three Indians, was headed by the indefatigable and zealous Spanish-italian Jesuit, Father Juan María de Salvatierra. The achievements of this leader, permanent and far-reaching in scope, were made in the face of adversity, discouragement, and incessant hardships. Winning mainly by the indomitable force of his character, his impregnable belief that his mission in life was to bring into the fold of Catholicism the heathen of California, Salvatierra colonized this wilderness – so vital to Spain's colonization policy – by raising the Spanish colors in the name of the Cross, and by his kindly and humane handling of the natives.

The significance of Juan María de Salvatierra as a

conqueror both in the temporal and spiritual meaning of the word, was early recognized by the great Spanish historian, Miguel Venegas,[1] who wrote an elaborate account of his life and activities. With the aid of Juan Antonio Oviedo,[2] this history was subsequently abridged and published in the year 1754 under the title *El Apostol Mariano representado en la vida del V. P. Juan María de Salvatierra.* This account is now presented in English for the first time, in this volume.

The life-history of Juan María de Salvatierra has a two-fold interest. He was not only, as Venegas calls him, "The Apostolic Conqueror of the Californias," he was also a noted traveller, explorer, and organizer. Of supreme importance is the founding, in 1697, of his first mission on the peninsula – Loreto – for it paved the way for a chain of similar missions which pushed gradually northward, eventually linking Alta with Baja California.

In addition to Loreto, Salvatierra, before his death in 1717, completed the founding, with the aid of his brother-Jesuits Juan Ugarte, Francisco María Picolo, and Jayme Bravo, of six more peninsula missions.

[1] Miguel Venegas is the standard historian of this period. See his *Noticia de la California*, which is based on the letters and documents of the Jesuit fathers. It has been translated into English under the title, *A Natural and Civil History of California.* A detailed account of Salvatierra, extracts from several of his letters, and a full survey of peninsula conditions is contained in these volumes.

[2] Father Juan Antonio de Oviedo was born at Bogota in 1670. After graduating from the University at Guatemala in 1689, he joined the Jesuit order and went to Mexico City where he took the vows in 1692. After teaching several years in the College of St. Peter and St. Paul he took the Four Vows in 1704. Much of his time was subsequently spent in Europe in the interests of the Jesuits. After being appointed General of the Jesuits, he travelled extensively, even going out to the Philippines. During the later years of his life he devoted his time to historical writings. His death occurred in 1757. *Dicc. Univ.*, vol. x, 96.

These were San Xavier de Biaundó, Nuestra Señora de Dolores, San Juan de Londó, San Juan Bautista de Legui, Santa Rosalía Mulegé, and San José Commondú. Prior to coming to Baja California he had also founded two Sinaloa missions, Santa Teresa, and San Francisco de los Guazaparis.

But the establishment of these missions was merely incidental to what he hoped to make his life work – the exploration and opening of the little-known lands far above the peninsula. To gain a foothold for these future ventures he first established mission bases, planting these on a firm foundation, and giving careful attention to their proper government.

One of his grave problems was how to procure adequate financial support for his colonies. Spain had granted him the right to colonize California – but on the condition he defrayed all the costs. His only governmental support was the small allowance paid to missionaries – and these payments were frequently several years in arrears.

To alleviate this situation Salvatierra collected funds, supplies, and ships from generous patrons throughout Mexico and these, together with supplies sent over from the mainland missions, supported his missions. Eventually Salvatierra put these funds into investments in Mexico, which brought in a steady income for his colonists. In so doing he laid the foundations for the Pious Fund [3] which later grew to vast proportions. In

[3] This is the famous Pious Fund, still extant, which was founded to support Jesuit missions and which eventually reached the sum of a million pesos. Salvatierra appointed a *procurator*, or business manager for California, who resided in Mexico, collected interest and donations, and shipped food, clothing, and supplies to the peninsula. In litigation since the United States took over California, the case was settled in 1902 by the Hague tribunal, but the

this history of Salvatierra, Venegas describes at length under what difficulties this was accomplished.

Salvatierra is the apogee of the Jesuit movement westward to the far shores of the Pacific. Later the Jesuit work of colonization and mission building was continued by the Franciscans who, when they pushed on and founded those Alta California missions left the peninsula missions in the hands of the Dominican order. The Jesuits first came to Mexico about 1600, and were expelled in 1768, for political causes centering in Europe. The establishment of the sixteen Jesuit missions in Lower California and the exploration, map-making, and road-building that proved so valuable a part of their activities were accomplished in the sixty years or more in and after the lifetime of Father Salvatierra. At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from the peninsula their missions passed to the control of the Franciscan order.

This Jesuit movement was in full swing in Europe during Salvatierra's boy-hood, and in his impressionable years he heard constant rumors of the stirring work done by this great militant body in the newly-discovered western hemisphere. During his schooldays at Parma *procurators*, men seeking missionaries for the foreign countries, often lectured at the Jesuit colleges, while missionary reports frequently found their way into school libraries.

Through reading one of these, Salvatierra, while a mere lad, was fired with a desire to devote his life to religious work among the heathen. Considerable opposition to his plan was met by the young Salvatierra, whose

Mexican government has failed to pay the claims as settled in that decision. An excellent resumé of this fund appears in Chapman, *A History of California*, p. 182.

family preferred to have him serve, in a more brilliant manner, at court. His early training under his mother and sister, however, had been of a profoundly religious nature and through their influence family obstacles in the end were overcome. Finally he was permitted to do as he chose and enter a Jesuit seminary.

Taking Holy Orders at the age of twenty-seven – several years before the usual time in Jesuit circles – he was soon assigned, as he had hoped to be, to the Indies. On September 13, 1675, he reached Vera Cruz, passing from there, directly to Mexico City. Several years of teaching, study, and practical experience with the Indians followed, culminating in a long-coveted appointment to the missions among the hostile Indians of the Sierra Madre, northwest of Mexico City. Here two missions, Santa Inez de la Chínipas, and Santa María Magdalena had already been established by a group of Jesuits.[4] Making these his headquarters he opened up two new missions, Santa Teresa de los Guazaparis, and San Francisco Xavier at Ceroahui. For ten years he worked zealously in the wilderness, and here Salvatierra gained his first practical experience in the handling of Indian problems.

Fresh laurels were in store for Salvatierra when he was appointed Father-visitor, or inspector, of the missions in Sinaloa and Sonora. It was while out on his rounds of inspection that Salvatierra came to know intimately Father Kino, whose boundless enthusiasm for

[4] See Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 25, where mention is made of Salvatierra's appointment to the frontier where three stations, Santa Inez de Chínipas among the Guailopos tribe, Santa Teresa among the Guazaparis, and Santa María Magdalena among the Temoris Indians had been founded in the Sierra Madre and where there were already some 4,000 converts. See also Bancroft, *Mexican States and Texas*, p. 248.

California inspired Salvatierra with a profound desire to labor in this virgin wilderness.[5] Kino had been appointed, in 1687, to the territory of Sonora and there just ten years before the founding of Mission Loreto he had built what later proved to be the stepping-stone for a chain of missions along the Colorado river – Mission Dolores. To Kino's settlement Salvatierra came as visitor, spending Christmas day, 1690, at his head mission.[6]

On foot the two fathers then travelled through the Pimería missions and Indian settlements to Los Remedios, San Joseph de los Hímires, San Ignacio, and so on to Cocóspera. From here Salvatierra, after reporting favorably on conditions in the Pimería, returned to his headquarters at Chínipas. Through conversations with Kino on this journey Salvatierra laid his first plans for what later proved to be his life-work – the opening of California.[7]

[5] Eusebio Francisco Kino was born August 10, 1644, at Trent in Upper Austria. For a time he taught mathematics at the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, coming to Mexico, with a number of other Jesuit missionaries in May, 1681. After spending a few years with Atondo's expedition in Lower California, he returned to Mexico City. In the meantime, the government had offered to the Jesuits the reduction of California, subsidized by the crown. Much to Kino's disappointment this offer was rejected, and he determined, instead, to labor among the Guaymas and Séris Indians, but failed to receive this privilege, being assigned, in 1687, to Pimería Alta – southern Arizona and northern Sonora – the home of the Pima Indians. Here he remained for more than twenty-five years, exploring, converting, and founding missions and pueblos. Here above Cucurpe, an outpost station on the San Miguel river, he founded the mission of Dolores at Cosari, following it with a chain of frontier missions throughout Pimería Alta. A full account of Kino's remarkable achievements may be found in his diary, recently translated by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton and published in this series as *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta.*

[6] Bolton, *Memoir of Pimería Alta*, vol. i, 51, describes the founding by Kino, of Dolores.

[7] This was when Father Juan María first conceived the plan of converting the California Indians. Kino had accompanied Admiral Atondo's expedition to California which had attempted to found a settlement in April 1683 at

In January, 1693, Salvatierra was appointed rector of the college at Gaudalajara. During his rectorship he began gradually to prepare for the conversion of the heathen Californians, but his proposals to colonize California were refused in turn by the three powerful provincials, Ambrosio, Diego Almonacir, and Juan de Palacios. The Royal Audiencia at Guadalajara also opposed this project as the treasury was lean, and the Atondo expedition had been very costly, while recent Indian uprisings in the Pimería also served to dampen enthusiasm for further expansion into hostile territory.

Kino and Salvatierra, undismayed, in January, 1696, jointly appealed once more for a formal license to enter California. This was refused, and Kino returned to his own missions. But Salvatierra, determined at all costs to enter California, appealed once more to the new provincial, Santaella, just after he had taken office. This new head of the Jesuit order had successfully founded missions among the Moors and favored the plans as outlined by Salvatierra. On February 5, 1697, the formal license was granted by the viceroy to Kino and Salvatierra to enter California.

Baja California, at the time of Salvatierra's arrival, in 1697, was still virtually a wilderness. Though it was

La Paz. This, a government venture had as its object the colonization of Lower California and the establishing of pearl-fisheries. Finding La Paz unsuited for this purpose a second locality was selected at San Bruno, and from here exploring parties went out to survey the country and pacify the Indians. The christianization of the Indians was entrusted to Fathers Kino and Goñi, who were later joined by Father Juan Copart, who made considerable progress with the natives. It was a source of keen disappointment to these fathers when the Spanish government decided to abandon the colony because of the unfavorable climate, trouble with the natives, and the excessive cost of the venture. For a full account of this expedition see Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 43-47; Venegas, *Natural and Civil History*, vol. i, 197; Engelhardt, *Missions*, vol. i, 64-70; and Bolton, *Memoir*, vol. i, 30-35.

called sometimes California and again Las Californias, the term was loosely used as meaning the lands across the Gulf and extending north as far as Monterey harbor. Whence the name "California" originally came has long been a moot question. An elaborate survey of the historical foundations of this word has been made by Ruth Putnam in *California: the Name*, recently published.[8] It is now generally acceded that it was taken from a Spanish romance by Montalvo, called *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, a book popular in Cortés's lifetime. The name California as applied to Lower California was first used by the historian of the Cortés expeditions – Bernal Díaz de Castillo, and navigators after that day usually so called it.[9]

Before the time of Cortés it was vaguely referred to as Ciguantan, Santiago, Islas de Perlas, or Islas Amazones, and later, Las Californias. Drake, in 1577, named it New Albion for England; in the days of Charles II it was known as Islas Carolinas. After San Diego was founded in 1767, to differentiate between these two Spanish outposts, the names Alta and Baja California were adopted by the Spanish authorities. With California under American control these were translated into their English equivalent of Upper and Lower California.

One of the burning questions in the days of Salvatierra was whether California was an island or a peninsula. The earliest known maps radically disagreed in depicting this far corner of the hemisphere.[10] Castillo's map of 1541, Lok's map of 1582, and the Wytfliet –

[8] For a full account of the origin of the word California see Putnam, Ruth, *California: the Name.*

[9] Venegas, *History of California*, vol. i, 1.

[10] Bancroft, *Nor. Mexican States and Texas*, pp. 81, 151, 152, 169.

Ptolemy map published in 1597 show California as a peninsula. But on a later Dutch map of 1624-1625, as well as on the Harris map published as late as the time of Salvatierra, California appears as an island. To ascertain the facts was one of the objects of explorations made, in 1701, by Salvatierra and Kino, above the head of the Gulf of California where from a hill the South Seas could be seen far beyond the peninsula. While at the time they were convinced that California was not an island, yet it was not until Father Ugarte's map was published twenty years later that this fact was generally accepted by geographers.

Of the Indians on Baja, or Lower, California even less was known when Salvatierra arrived there and planted his colony. Attempts at exploration had been few and far between; the few historically unimportant pearl-seeking expeditions that had operated off La Paz had served only to antagonize the natives. Kino and Goñi, the Jesuits with Atondo who had made careful records of the Indian life and had even compiled a dictionary of Indian words, had furnished to Salvatierra what scanty information he possessed of these heathen he was so successfully to christianize.

These native tribes belonged to three main groups, or families. In the south from San Lucas to the twenty-fourth parallel lived the Pericues, or Edues. To this tribe belonged the troublesome Guaycuros who inhabited the coast between La Paz and Mission Loreto. The second group, in the immediate vicinity of this same mission, were members of the Monqui family. The largest clan, known as the Cochimies or Laymones, lived in the northern part of the peninsula.

Based on native standards, their culture was of a

relatively low order. In winter they lived, as Salvatierra found them, in underground caves; in summer their shelter was a grass hut of simplest construction. Robust, of good height, and Mexican-brown in colour, they had thick lips, long black hair, narrow foreheads, and oval faces. They lived mainly on fish, small animals, and on fruits, nuts, grains, and berries. Generally speaking, the Baja California natives, with the exception of the Guaycuros, were docile and friendly, and responded readily to the advances of the fathers. Venegas, in his *History of California*, however, looks at them in a less kindly manner than the venerable fathers. "The characteristics of the Californians," he writes unflatteringly, "are stupidity and insensibility, want of knowledge and reflection, inconstancy, impetuosity, and blindness of appetite, an excessive sloth and abhorrence of all labor and fatigue; an incessant love of pleasure and amusement of any kind, however trifling or brutal, pusillanimity and, in fine, a most wretched want of every thing which constitutes the real man and renders him rational, inventive, tractable, and useful to himself and society." [11]

The clothing of the tribes when Salvatierra first found them was scanty in the extreme. The men went naked, adorned only with a string of pearls, beads, or an elaborate device of net-work in their hair, and shell bracelets. Salvatierra experienced considerable difficulty in overcoming this habit; when he carefully fitted out two Indian boys with neat garments they were so ridiculed by their associates that they discarded them, except when in the presence of the fathers. The women, in some of the tribes, also wore no clothing;

[11] Venegas, *History of California*, vol. i, 64.

invariably, however, they were bedecked with elaborate necklaces of pearls, shells, or fruit-stones. In some localities they wore short skirts of grasses or deer-skins.

But the chief concern of the Jesuit pioneers, the goal of all their efforts, was the spiritual life of these Californians. Heretofore what religion they had had sat lightly on their shoulders. The natives about Loreto worshipped a supreme god, *Niparaya*, who, with his wife and three sons so they believed had once lived on earth but had been taken on high to a place called *Notu*, or heaven. A lover of peace, this god refused admission to his sanctuary to all who had died by spear or sword. On earth, an owl was his spokesman. His rival was Wac Tuparana, god of war. Of more immediate importance to the Indian was the medicine-man, whose antics presented a difficult problem for the fathers. The annual festival season, lasting for three months, was under the auspices of these local potentates who exerted a deep-seated power over their followers.[12]

Salvatierra won over his horde of Indian followers by infinite tact, kindliness, and perseverance. The method used was first to win the confidence of the natives by small presents. Friendly relations once established, the fathers, who soon learned the Indian dialect, gave simple instructions in the principles of Catholicism. Those who came to listen were given food three times a day; *atole*, or boiled maize morning and night, and *pozole*, or maize boiled with meat, fruits, or vegetables, for the noon dinner. All invalids, and children under twelve, were fed with the converts. Salvatierra also provided clothes and blankets, imported from

[12] Venegas, *History of California*, vol. i, 83, quotes an interesting letter from Father Salvatierra describing this festival.

Mexico, for his Indian followers. This accomplished, his next step was to teach the brightest members how to plant and cultivate, for it was a Jesuit principle of success that, after the first few years, missions should be self-sustaining.

Rules for the civil government of these missions – later adopted throughout all Jesuit missions – were formulated in these years by Salvatierra. One of the conditions of the Jesuit occupation of the peninsula, as given in their formal license, was that the fathers were to have jurisdiction over the soldiers. Such a control, though foreign to Spanish colonial policy was essential to the success of the venture as every outpost mission was protected by one or more Spanish soldiers, and these frequently, if not properly handled, gave more trouble than the natives. Salvatierra was thus both the civil and spiritual head of his territory, though he entrusted to the captain under him full authority over the soldiers.

One of his basic beliefs was that a mild form of self-government should exist among the Indians. For this reason a trusted native was made head of the local colony; another was put in charge of the church attendance; a third was made responsible for gathering in the natives for morning and evening service. Salvatierra's own duties were multifold. Not only was he in charge of the religious life of the natives, he was also physician, surgeon and apothecary, teacher, explorer, food-provider, agriculturalist, architect, and builder.

In the building of his missions, Salvatierra had three able associates – Fathers Picolo, Ugarte, and Bravo. For a short time Salvatierra was the only missionary on the peninsula; Eusebio Kino who was licensed to ac-

company him having been detained at the last moment by complications in his own mainland missions. Later Father Kino's place was filled by Francisco María Picolo. As the missions grew and prospered Juan de Ugarte and Jayme Bravo were appointed to the peninsula.

Father Picolo was Salvatierra's right-hand man during the first hard years of pioneering.[13] His duties centered largely in educating and christianizing the children whom he taught reading, writing, and the catechism. Later he had charge of Mission San Xavier, under Salvatierra, where because of his amiable and gentle nature he was greatly beloved by the Indians. Upon Salvatierra's death he was put in charge of Mission Loreto.

Of equal importance was the work of Jayme Bravo the business manager, after 1705, for the Jesuit interests on the peninsula.[14] Much of his time was spent in Mexico collecting funds for Salvatierra and arousing popular interest in his work among the Indians. Juan de

[13] Francisco Maria Picolo was a Sicilian, born in 1650; coming to Mexico about 1686, he worked among the Tarahumares natives until appointed to California. Picolo was sent in place of Kino to aid Salvatierra, and was particularly successful in teaching the Indian children.

[14] Father Jayme Bravo is also one of the great pioneers of Lower California. Born in Aragon, Spain, in 1705 he was appointed to the missions on the peninsula. He reached there at a time when the missions were in dire straits, and acted for a time as *procurator*; he proved an ardent and indefatigable worker and an able and economical administrator. One of his most important achievements was the pacifying of the hostile Guaycuros Indians, whom Salvatierra had failed to conciliate. With Father Ugarte, Bravo went into their country in 1720 remaining for eight years in the vicinity of La Paz. There he learned the language, baptized six hundred adults, prepared eight hundred catechisms, and founded three settlements: La Virgen del Pilar, Todos Santos and El Angel Custodio. In 1728 he became Picolo's assistant at Loreto. After the death of Picolo he became the head of Loreto mission. He died May 13, 1744, at the mission of San Xavier and was buried at Loreto.

Ugarte, who joined them in 1700, was the practical man at the missions, the instructor in the arts of agriculture, spinning, and weaving.[15] Mission discipline was often turned over to the jovial and fearless Ugarte, who would frequently swing an unruly Indian by the hair by way of punishment. A zealous explorer and road-builder, he was active in opening new routes above Loreto.

The peninsula missions survived only after a series of harrowing experiences. Time and again funds and supplies ran low, so low, indeed, that the fathers were on the verge of starvation. The seriousness of this situation was made light of by Salvatierra, who jokingly refers to his "rat-diet." How precarious this food situation was at all times is evident from letters written by Salvatierra to his friend, Kino, whose missions across the Gulf supplied the grain, sheep, and cattle that warded off starvation. The weak point in this dependence on the mainland missions was the danger of crossing the Gulf, with its frequent storms, and the utter inadequacy of Salvatierra's three frail vessels. This need for a more dependable means of communication be-

[15] Juan de Ugarte, the great pioneer of Lower California was born in 1662, in Honduras. In 1679 he took the habit, later becoming professor of philosophy in the Jesuit colleges in Zacetecas and Mexico City. Becoming interested in Salvatierra's project in California he accepted the post of *procurator* and it is largely through his efforts that the California missions were able to survive. In 1700 he went over to the peninsula to join Salvatierra, where he founded the mission of St. Xavier, and the pueblos known as San Pablo, Santa Rosalía, and San Miguel. Much of his time was spent in puttting the missions on a sound basis, in introducing various fruits and grains for native use, in teaching agriculture, spinning, and weaving. A man of robust health, untiring industry, and unfailing enthusiasm, to him is due, after Salvatierra, the credit for the Lower California missions. He died in 1730 at Loreto. He has left a *Diarios, relaciones, y cartas de las cosas de California* used by Venegas in his History. Beristain, *Bib., Hisp.-Amer.*, vol. iii, 204.

tween missions led Kino and Salvatierra, in 1701, to make a long trip to the Colorado river in an effort to find a land passage from Mexico to Baja California, which they were convinced existed.

Though Salvatierra had come to the peninsula in 1697, it was not until 1702 that the situation at the missions reached a climax. Funds, at that time, had run low, private donations could not be relied on, and the young colony faced annihilation. Temporarily relieved by the coming of supplies from the mainland, María Picolo made a long journey to Guadalajara and on February 10, 1702, presented a stirring memorial to the Royal Audiencia.[16] By it he hoped to get permanent support from the government now long in arrears with the pay due the garrison soldiers. The Audiencia voted to supply funds but only a small part of what they promised was collected. The missions were saved rather through the generosity of Don Joseph de la Puente, who endowed three missions.

A second crisis arose, 1705, two years after Philip V had again promised – realizing their value to Spain's policy of northward expansion – to support these outpost missions. At this time the fathers deemed it advisable permanently to abandon the missions. Salvatierra and Ugarte, however, refused to leave their converts. Again Salvatierra and the fathers prepared and signed a lengthy memorial to the Audiencia, and again they were met with worthless promises. Once more the crisis was tided over through private donations.[17]

[16] Picolo's report in full appears in *Cartas Edificantes y Curiosas*, vol. iii, 112-127. See also Bolton, *Memoir of Pimería Alta*, vol. ii, 46 ff.

[17] See Bolton, *Memoir of Pimería Alta*, vol. ii, p. 53, for a detailed account of these donations by Don Juan Cavallero y Ocio, one of the most liberal donors to the fund for the California missions.

And yet, despite these many obstacles, the work of founding the peninsula missions went steadily forward. Picolo, in his report of February 1702, which summarized what had been accomplished within five years at Loreto places the number of converts at four thousand. This, out of a native population for the peninsula, roughly estimated at fifty thousand, seems incredible. Included in this report is a succinct account of the four missions already established, the rancherias belonging to them and the number and condition of the buildings. These were 1, Conchó, or Our Lady of Loreto; 2, San Francisco Xavier de Biaundó; 3, Nuestra Señora de Dolores; 4, San Juan de Londó. Each mission also had jurisdiction over a group of neighboring rancherias, or Indian settlements. Of these Loreto alone was fortified and protected by four small cannon and eighteen soldiers – scanty protection for these pioneers in times of danger.

Governmental aid proved sporadic and unreliable until after 1711 when a man friendly to the Jesuits was appointed Viceroy in Mexico.[18] For this reason after San Juan Bautista Legui and Santa Rosalía Mulegé were founded in 1705, and San José Commondú in 1708, their time was devoted mainly to building up these seven settlements and exploring the neighboring country rather than founding new missions.

The later years of Salvatierra's life were spent travelling back and forth between Mexico and California in the interests of his mission. His chief concern now was to alleviate the dire financial status of his colonies, for without this aid no lasting results could be expected. It was in these years that this zealous father established

[18] This was the Duke de Linares who became viceroy in 1710.

on so firm a foundation the Pious Fund, investing the principal in sound Mexican securities. His death occurred at the age of sixty-eight while at Guadalajara, and was due to his weakened condition after years of hardship and privation. Though feeble, yet he remained at his post until the end was near.

The fruits of Salvatierra's long years of courageous and incessant effort came with the subsequent founding on the peninsula of nine more Jesuit missions. This made a total, in all, of sixteen such establishments extending the length and breadth of Lower California. With the expulsion, in 1768, of the Jesuits for political reasons having their roots in European jealousies, these missions came into Franciscan hands under the leadership of Junipero Serra. As such they furnished the stepping-stones, under this great leader, for a similar chain of missions in Alta, or Upper California.

MARGUERITE E. WILBUR

Long Beach, California, November, 1928

EL APOSTOL MARIANO
REPRESENTADO EN LA VIDA
DEL V.P. JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA,
DE LA COMPAÑIA DE JESUS,
fervoroso Miſſionero en la Provincia de Nueva-Eſpaña, y Conquiſtador Apoſtolico de las Californias.

Eſcrita difuſa, y eruditamente
POR EL P. MIGUEL VENEGAS,
Profeſſo de quatro Votos de la miſma Compañia.

Y reducida â breve compendio
POR EL P. JUAN ANTONIO DE OVIEDO, Rector del Colegio de San Andrès de Mexico, y Calificador del Santo Oficio.

QUIEN LA DEDICA
A MARIA SANTISSIMA
Madre de Dios, Reyna de todos los Santos, Señora de los Exercitos, y Conquiſtadora de nuevos Reynos en ſu Sagrada Imagen
DE LORETO.

Con licencia en MEXICO: En la Imprenta de Doña Maria de Ribera, Impreſſora del Nuevo Rezado. Año de 1754.

THE MARIAN APOSTLE
AS REPRESENTED IN THE LIFE OF
THE VENERABLE FATHER JUAN MARIA DE SALVATIERRA,
OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS,
a fervant Missionary in the Province of New Spain, and Apostolic Conqueror of the Californias.

Written learnedly and in detail
BY FATHER MIGUEL VENEGAS,
Professed of the four Vows, of this same Company

and condensed into a brief compendium
BY FATHER JUAN ANTONIO DE OVIEDO, Rector of the College of San Andres in Mexico, and Censor for the Holy Inquisition

BY WHOM IT IS DEDICATED
TO THE MOST HOLY MARY
Mother of God, Queen of all the Saints
Lady of Armies, and Conqueress of new Kingdoms in her Holy Image
OF LORETO.

Licensed at MEXICO; at the Press of Doña Maria de Ribera, Printer for the New Divine Service. In the year 1754.

TO THE MOST HOLY MARY, MOTHER OF GOD, LADY OF ARMIES AND CONQUERESS OF NEW KINGDOMS IN HER SACRED IMAGE OF LORETO

I would do a grave injustice to this history of the life of the Venerable Father Juan María de Salvatierra, if I did not dedicate it as an offering on the altars of your patronage. You have deigned to choose this your loyal servant to be Conqueror and Apostle of the uncivilized lands of California, and whatever triumphs Our Faith may have witnessed among these barbarian peoples, all credit is due to your Supreme Power and the manifest influence of your patronage. I recognize you, Holy Queen, mysteriously figuring as that very brave heroine of the written law, Deborah, and in your faithful vassal and servant Father Salvatierra, Barak, leader of God's people, upon the occasion when, finding the land infested with enemies, Deborah ordered Barak to gather together a large army and to undertake the task of freeing the nation (with the words): *PRAECEPIT TIBI DOMINUS: VADE & DUC EXERCITUM IN MONTEM THABOR, ETC.* (Judges Chap. 4).[19] Barak assumed the task, but only on the condition that Deborah herself would accompany him: *SI VENIS MECUM VADAM: SINDUERIS VENIRE MECUM, NON VADAM*;[20] and upon hearing the prompt and spirited reply, in which she promised personally to

[19] God commands you: Go and draw toward Mt. Tabor.

[20] If thou wilt go with me, then I will go, but if thou wilt not go with me, then I will not go.

assist him in the battle: *ET DIXIT AD EUM; IBO QUIDEM TECUM,*[21] he gave himself up fervently to the undertaking.

The Prophetess Deborah fulfilled her promise, and when the enemy was confronted by the army, God filled Sisera and all his soldiers with such fright and fear that they were put immediately to flight: *PER TERRUITQUE DOMINUS SISARAM, & OMNES CURRUS EJUS UNIVERSAMQUE MULTITUDINEM.*[22] In this way, although the armies did not come to blows ,at the mere sight of them, the enemy was conquered. Another such a victory was won by your faithful servant Juan María, when you chose him, and sent him out to conquer California. For, unwilling to rely on his own power, merit, and industry, he placed all his faith in your patronage and protection and, for this reason, he did not wish to go alone on so hazardous a venture, but desired to have you accompany him in your Holy and Sacred Image of Loreto, so that to your Royal Name, and to the favor of your patronage would be due the victory. Because of this, as soon as he reached California, he placed the image in a tent, which served as a shrine until he could build a more substantial chapel or church. And when, in the name of this same image, he took possession of that land, at the sight of it all Inferno trembled and the armies of Hell were scattered.

Because of this, O Great Lady, the glorious name of the Marian Apostle has been given to your servant, Father Juan María. Apostle, since he carried to new tribes the light of evangelism. Marian, not only for having ennobled his name with the surname of Mary, but particularly for having secured such notable victories

[21] And she said, I will go with thee.

[22] And the Lord discomfited Sisera and all his chariots, and all his hosts.

over all the powers of Hell with your protection, and strengthened always with your favor and patronage. And so, too, this history of the extraordinary life and apostolic ministerings of your servant has been the work of your powerful hand, written so that it may act as a stimulant, particularly among the Jesuits, to your devotion and worship, to inspire fresh enthusiasm for the practise of virtue, and as a powerful incentive to procure, at any cost, the salvation of souls redeemed with the precious blood of Our Most Holy Son.

AMEN.

PROLOGUE TO THE READER

You may think it strange, discreet reader, and you may question with a certain amount of righteous indignation, why thirty-seven years have elapsed since the death, at Guadalajara, of the Venerable Father and Apostolic Conqueror of the Californias, Juan María de Salvatierra, before his "Life" has been published, and you may perhaps attribute such delay to the negligence and indifference of the Superiors, who should have immediately made public the heroic virtues and apostolic ministerings of so illustrious a Holy Man. But it will be a source of satisfaction to know, in what appears to be a just complaint that, immediately after the death of the Venerable Father Salvatierra, Father Alexandro Romano, who, for a long time had been his Procurator in Mexico, being in charge of all business and financial affairs pertaining to California, and who, shortly after, was sent out as Provincial to that same Province, tried to collect what information, reports, and letters he could, and was able to assemble sufficient material to form a very complete history of the glorious actions and heroic virtues of Father Salvatierra.

About this time, Father Marcelo de Valdvieso, the Procurator, arrived in Mexico with a large and splendid delegation for his Province, the Philippines, among whom was Father Cefaradoria, a native of the Province of Milan, from which Father Salvatierra had also come, who, desiring to honor his Province with a fitting account of a new Apostle, who was a native son, asked

for these same papers and information which had been gathered together; and it was an act worthy of praise, since a vast fund of information was drawn from them by Father Joseph Patriñani, a Roman subject, but a resident of Florence, who made an honorable though brief account of F. Juan María de Salvatierra in the third volume of his "Menology."

The misfortune was this; that when the time came for the Philippine delegation to embark at the Port of Acapulco, either the Father forgot to return them, [these papers] or no one remembered to collect them; nor, after this Father had reached the Philippines did anyone go to the trouble to write him, and ask for their return to this country. Some years later, a different Provincial wrote again in great distress to the Father Missionaries in California, asking for the desired information, without knowing of the loss, which has been mentioned, of the papers that had been previously collected, and received the reply that whatever they had pertaining to Father Juan María had been loaned to Father Alexandro Romano, when he was Provincial and all they sent was only a brief report of two pages from Father Jayme Bravo, in which he told what he knew of his childhood, his entrance into the Company, his arrival in New Spain, and nothing more.

Although the Father Provincial knew with what religious zeal Father Miguel Venegas, Professed of the Four Vows, had prepared a history of the conquest of California in which, after God, Father Salvatierra was the principal agent, and also how he had written, in great detail, the life of his Venerable and Beloved Companion, Father Juan Bautista Zappa, he advised him also to apply himself to arranging a history of

Father Juan María de Salvatierra. This same Father, notwithstanding his advanced age and his tendency to continuous attacks which troubled him, by availing himself of the material he had used in the above mentioned histories, by soliciting additional information from persons who had been closely in touch with the Venerable Father, and by using what letters of his he could gather, commenced and completed a beautiful and well-written account of his life. But when it was completed it was so lengthy that Father Juan Antonio Balthazar, the present Provincial, upon taking into consideration the excessive cost of printing books in this country; and finding he could not publish it without very heavy expense, ordered me to abridge it, without omitting any of the substance of the history, into a shorter volume. This I have done, and dedicated it to the divine and merciful Lady, for her greater glory, and the greater inspiration of all members of the Faith, especially the Jesuit missionaries, so they may undertake, with fresh courage, the salvation of souls, particularly among the infidels, in accordance with the commands of the Apostolic Institute of the Company.

It may be that since Father Juan María de Salvatierra was a man given over wholly to God, and in the habit of holding intimate communion with Our Lord, too little attention has been paid to those special favors, visions, and revelations which God ordinarily bestows on his most favored servants. But, such things are known only to those who receive them, and can be known to others only through the writings in which these servants of the Lord were in the habit of noting them down as a memorial, memento, or an incentive to the glorification of God, as witnessed by these spiritual-

ly-minded Fathers, to whom at God's will and instigation they are communicated. But when the Venerable Father died, no such records were found, and it was merely known that before his death he burned various papers, among them, some in which were described the personal inspirations and favors he had received from God. It was known as well, that the one to whom he confided these spiritual manifestations was Father Zappa, whom, from the time he knew and lived with him in his Province of Milan, he admired and looked up to as his Master; and when the two came to this Province and soon after were separated, they constantly kept in touch with one another by letter, and it was in these that Father Salvatierra informed him of the inmost secrets of his heart. The Venerable and Apostolic Father, Juan Bautista Zappa was the first to die, and after Father Salvatierra had come over from California, and assumed the office of Provincial, he tried to gather whatever papers and letters were to be found of those which Father Zappa had left, and which might serve as the basis for the history of his life, but in this collection no letters were afterwards found, which Father Salvatierra might have written. This is conclusive proof, of which we must feel convinced, that the very humble Father, in order not to have the spiritual manifestations, which he frequently communicated in his known letters, destroyed them and consigned them to the fire, desiring to be remembered only by his virtues and his saintly kindliness. However, from what little is known, even though there is much of which we are ignorant, can be drawn a wealth of information which is admirable for its holiness, in its glorification of God, and for the imitation, in so far as it is possible, of his virtues.

PROTESTATION BY THE AUTHOR

In obedience to the Decrees of N. M. S. Father Urbano VIII, and to the other regulations of the Holy Congregation, and of the Sacred and Public Inquisition, I protest that in all I have written in this history of the Life of the Venerable Father Juan María de Salvatierra concerning his virtues, spirituality and character, it has never been my intention to give more credit than is due to a human being who is fallible, nor that terms like Apostle, Venerable, Holy, or similar words should be taken in any other sense than that implied by a pious veneration, leaving all to the judgment and decision of the Holy See to whose correction I submit in all things, as an obedient son of the Holy Church.

LICENSE OF THE GOVERNOR-SUPERIOR

His excellency, Señor Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcastias, Count of Ribilla Gigedo, Knight of His Majesty's bedchamber, Commander-in-chief of the Royal Armies, Viceroy, Governor, Captain-general, President and Chancellor of the Royal Audiencia, etc., hereby grants his permission for the publication of this "Life," upon the advice of the Reverend Father Xavier Lazcano, of the Holy Company of Jesus. It is guaranteed to contain nothing contrary to the purity of Our Holy Faith and customs, nor to the regulations laid down by His Majesty. In virtue of this I grant it, as recorded by this Decree of August 22, 1753.

COMMON LICENSE

Señor Dr. D. Francisco Xavier Gomez de Cervantes, Attorney of the Royal Audiencia, Retired Professor at the Head of the Holy Canons in the Royal University of this Court, Prebendary of this Holy Church of our Mother-Country, Adviser to the office of the Inquisition in this Kingdom, Judge, Purveyor and Vicar-General of this Archbishopric, etc., grants his permission for the publication of this "Life," which has been approved by the Reverend Father Francisco Zeballos, of the Holy Company of Jesus, and which is guaranteed to contain nothing contrary to the purity of our excellent customs and Our Holy Faith, nor to His Majesty's regulations. In virtue of this I grant it [the permission], as witnessed by this edict of August 23, 1753.

RELIGIOUS LICENSE

JUAN ANTONIO DE BALTHAZAR OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, PROVINCIAL OF THIS PROVINCE OF NEW SPAIN

I hereby grant permission for the publication of a book bearing the title "Life and Heroic Virtues of the V. P. Juan María de Salvatierra, Provincial, late of the Company of Jesus," written by Father Miguel Venegas, Professed of the Four Vows; and abridged by Father Juan Antonio de Oviedo, of Our Company, Rector of the College of San Andrés in Mexico, censor of the Holy Office, which has been examined and approved by learned and prominent members of this same Company. In witness whereof I place my signature and that of my secretary, sealed with the official stamp, in this Our Professed House in Mexico, August 29, 1753.

I. H. S. – Juan Antonio Balthazar

I. H. S. – Marion Gonzalez, Secretary

BOOK I: CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF HIS LIFE

1. HIS COUNTRY, PARENTS, BIRTHPLACE, AND EARLY EDUCATION

The Most Noble city of Milan, the capital of Lombardy, can be justly proud of having been the birthplace of one who carried the gospel to a new people – Juan María de Salvatierra, the story of whose life we shall now relate. Juan María's father, Don Juan de Salvatierra, came originally of one of the most noble and illustrious families in Andujar, a city in the kingdom of Andalucia; his mother, Señora Doña Barbara Visconti, was descended from the distinguished Dukes of Milan. Heaven blessed this marriage with five children. Of these, the eldest known, too, as Juan, was instructed in religion and the humanities, and although his parents had destined him to inherit their ancestral home and estate, he was strongly moved by God to abandon all possessions of a worldly nature, and to consecrate his life to God in our Order. The patrimony and estates were renounced by him in favor of the second brother, Don George, who married and upheld the honour of the family name by his christian-like conduct. A third son joined the army, serving for several years as a faithful vassal to his king, and finally laying down his life in the honourable discharge of his duties. And fourthly, there was Doña Constancia, a girl of much grace and charm, who married, upon reaching maturity, the Governor of the City of Cremona. Upon being left a widow,

she dedicated her life to Christ's service, and entered a very strict monastery.

The fifth and last of these children was our Juan María, who was born November the fifteenth, 1648.[23] Since the elder Juan, as we have already said, had joined the ranks of the Jesuits, it was the wish of the father, Don Juan, that this youngest child, whom he loved as dearly as Jacob loved Benjamin, should continue the family traditions of the name John. Accordingly he did everything in his power to provide for the child's future, so that he might live with a dignity befitting his noble station.

When our Juan was still a mere child, his father died, and he was left to the care of his mother, who endeavored to bring him up like a gentleman and a Christian. To understand, in a measure, the heroic nature of this remarkable woman, it is but necessary to know that after Juan had entered the Company of Jesus, she wrote him letters so replete with God's spirit, that the Venerable Father preserved them, and each year, when he was about to perform the spiritual services of Our Patron Saint Ignatius, he re-read them to gain fresh inspiration for God's service. And frequently she reminded him that, although his ancestors had rendered distinguished services to the kings and princes of their country, far worthier was the service he had chosen as Christ's soldier in the Holy Jesuit Order, since the

[23] There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the exact date of Salvatierra's birth. Beristain, *Bib. Hispano-Americana*, vol. iii, 103, gives Nov. 15, 1648.

Bancroft, *N. Mex. States*, vol. i, 278 (foot-note) says Salvatierra was born in 1644. (Clavijero, *Historia*, p. 39, is the authority on which Bancroft bases his conclusion.)

Bolton, *Memoir of Pimería Alta*, vol. i, p. 28, again gives 1644, the year of Kino's birth, as that of Salvatierra.

noble laws of a sacred militia entailed upon him obligations of an equally rigid nature. If she gave him such instructions as these when he was no longer under her care, but had taken Holy Orders, what must have been the advice she gave him when she was bringing him up, and educating him under her own roof?

It came to pass, however, that this early training was cut short at the time his sister, Doña Constancia, married, and went with her husband to reside at Cremona, for she took with her for company her brother Juan María, who, at the time, was not more than six or seven years old. Equally great were the pains his sister took to educate him, often talking with him of the holy fear of Our Lord, and of how he should hold all sin in horror. And she tried, by every possible argument, to persuade him to renounce the world, to embrace the cross of Christ, and to ally himself with some Holy Order.

The following incident will show how admirably she watched over young Juan's education. On a certain Good Friday, everyone had left the house to walk the stations, as good Catholics are accustomed to do on that day, accidentally leaving young Juan, who was now past seven, alone in the house. When Juan realized he had been left by himself, he started out to find companions, but met no one but a little girl of his own age, to whom he proposed that, since they could not go to any church in the city, they should go together to one of the small chapels inside the city, and walk the stations of Calvary. The child accepted the invitation and, in a pious manner, the two set out to "pray the stations."

After the senior members of the family returned home, some soldiers from the castle, wishing to make

themselves agreeable, told how devoutly the two children had walked the stations. But the Señora, Juan's sister, who regarded the affair with eyes of superior wisdom, took it very much to heart, and, calling her brother aside, reprimanded him severely for having dared to walk alone with a woman, warning him, at the same time that, even though she was a little girl, she was a woman just the same, and from his earliest days he should be cautious in his conduct toward all women. Then she gave him, by way of penalty, three days of fasting and solitary confinement, which the devout child patiently complied with, emerging chastened and penitent in spirit.

The one thought of the Señora, Juan's sister, was to turn the attention of her small brother toward the paths of virtue and Christian charity, and, furthermore, to influence him toward the religious life. His brother-in-law, on the contrary, tried to persuade him to take up a military career, and even went so far as to give orders to the Commanders to talk with the boy about military affairs, and several times he had them shoot off guns in his presence, that he might lose all fear of military noises. From them both the open-minded child absorbed some of that spirit which later prompted him to such magnanimous undertakings under the banner of religion. From his sister he received, as if "distilled in milk" the doctrine which prompted him to be always virtuous. And from the military discipline of his brother-in-law, he was inspired with courage to undertake great things.

Our Juan was still a mere lad when there occurred in Milan an event of great importance, – the arrival from Spain of the Infanta Doña Margarita, – who was

on her way to Germany to become the bride of the Emperor Leopold. The two Governors of Milan and Cremona made elaborate preparation to receive her with fêtes worthy of so exalted a personage. It was the wish of the Governor of Cremona that his wife should assist him and wait upon the Empress, and that our Juan should give an exhibition before her Majesty of the aptitude he had for dancing and playing various musical instruments. But God, in his great wisdom, decreed that the mules of the coach in which they were riding should take fright, upset the coach, and that some bits of glass from a broken window should cut Doña Constancia's face. And even though the wounds were not serious, yet she could not appear with them before Her Majesty. Then, on the very day of Her Highness's entrance into Milan, our Juan, who was on his way, in a two-wheeled chaise, to witness the impressive reception accorded Her Highness, in some unknown way upset his coach, which was knocked to fragments. Humiliated and mortified, Juan entered a little church nearby, commonly known as "The Garden." Here, according to the account in the third volume of Father Joseph Patriñani's "Menology," took place an incident worthy to be admired and remembered. This is what happened. While Juan was keeping his eye on the floor of the church he saw there a sepulchral tablet bearing this inscription, "Here lies Don Juan de Salvatierra." He stood perfectly still, his heart full of fear, trying to solve this strange mystery. But when he looked at this same stone again, the words had vanished.

After this ominous event they returned once more to Cremona. When Doña Constancia had been married barely six years her husband died, and the good Señora,

who had always encouraged her brother to be virtuous and to lead a religious life, decided to influence him, not only by words, but by deeds as well. So, inspired by love of God, she renounced the riches, the pleasures and the other good things of this world to seek a haven of refuge; and, taking the veil, entered the strict monastery of Corpus Domini, where she lived a saintly and exemplary life until her death.

2: HIS RETURN TO MILAN, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE UP TO THE TIME GOD CALLED HIM TO THE JESUIT ORDER

When Don Juan de Salvatierra found he no longer had his sister's guidance and protection to rely upon, he decided to return to his mother's home in Milan. At this time he was thirteen or fourteen years of age. His relatives forthwith determined to send him to the court of Madrid or Vienna, so that, in the service of the king, he might win promotions and so shed new light and glory on the family name. They confided these intentions in part to Father Juan de Salvatierra, our Juan's elder brother, who was wise enough to disapprove of the plan. He advised them to send the lad, instead, to a school for boys of noble birth at Parma, under the direction of the Jesuits, where many of the nobility of all Europe congregated to acquire a classical education and to become familiar with the accomplishments suitable for youths of the nobility. This plan proving agreeable to all concerned, Juan was accordingly sent to Parma, where, for four years, he applied himself diligently to the study of literature and to the accomplishments suitable for a gentleman, and

where he excelled particularly in music and fencing. At the same time he devoted his attention – although the work proved somewhat arduous – to the study of the French language.

He was still at the seminary at Parma, deeply engrossed with his studies, when God, who had destined him for greater things, with admirable providence arranged to have him read a book, which told of the apostolic labors of the missionaries, who were engaged in converting infidels in the Indies. Upon reading this, Juan grew strangely elated, for he knew that spiritual conquests surpassed in bravery and true worth all military gains made in the service of earthly kings or princes. And from that moment he began to experience a great longing to abandon all thoughts of earthly reward, and to devote himself, to the best of his ability, to the conversion of the heathen. But his relatives had very different plans in view for him. Although they knew what excellent progress he had made, not only in literature, but also in those accomplishments befitting a gentleman, they took him out of the seminary at Parma, just after he had passed his seventeenth birthday, and had him return to Milan. Their plan was that he should marry, and with this end in view, they had already selected the niece of the most Eminent Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, who had already, with warmest expressions of approbation, given his consent. Juan's relatives, however, who had kept an eye on him for some time, had some slight suspicion of his aspirations and so did not try immediately to press their point but, instead, did what they could to divert him with amusements and festivities, all of which our Juan, as one already ordained for God's service, viewed with signs of

vexation and dismay. They even took him quite often to visit the Most Eminent Archbishop, who received him with singular tenderness and love and, soon after, had him visit the niece, with the hope that by frequent glimpses and visits he would fall in love and so be inclined to marry.

At first the artifice of his relatives was lost upon the unsuspecting youth; but finally he noticed how often they left him alone with the young lady, and remembering his good sister's advice – how dangerous it is for a man to be alone with a woman – he determined, as soon as possible, to seek safety in flight. He thought out an unusual plan, to disguise himself as a pilgrim, and, clothed in this garb, to go forth from his house, and, begging his food, cross on foot Lombardy, France, and Spain, until he arrived at Cadiz, there to embark for the Indies, where he could devote his life to the conversion of the heathen. With this end in view, he provided himself with a cloak, a staff, a very beautiful picture of the Most Holy Virgin, and a lute with which to dispel the gloom of lodgings and to sweeten, with its music, the hardships which might befall him on so long and laborious a journey. He had provided himself neither with money, nor with any *vaticum* for his comfort, leaving all in the hands of God, and trusting to His loving kindness that he would lack for nothing.

He had not deemed it advisable to inform his relatives of his plans and resolutions, for he felt certain they would do everything in their power to keep him from leaving the country. But when the evening of the day on which he had determined to take flight arrived, the thought came to him that it would be wise to confide his plans to his brother, Father Juan de Salvatierra,

who, as he was in religious orders and had no thought of worldly ostentation, not only would not be opposed to his intentions, but might even direct him, with words of spiritual wisdom, toward the better performance of his duty. His brother, Father Juan, listened to him, and commended his praiseworthy intention; but, upon considering the undertaking from a mature point of view, he explained to him its many obstacles, not the least of which was, that since he was not a priest he would not be allowed in the Indies to help in the conversion of the Gentiles. For this reason, the best way to succeed would be to enter some religious order, which was established for the conversion of the heathen in the Indies, so that, after he was well instructed in religion, he might afterwards go to the Indies and practice a saintly and apostolic ministry. "But," he added, "You must please yourself and do not select, on my account, the Jesuit Order, since I do not wish it to be said that you have entered it for love of your brother, or because I have so advised it."

3: CONCERNING HIS VOCATION AND ENTRANCE INTO THE COMPANY, AND HOW FERVENTLY HE PASSED HIS NOVITIATE

In spite of the fact that our Juan had firmly determined to put into execution his plan of starting out from his home, disguised as a pilgrim, for Cadiz, and departing thence for the Indies, he decided to change his plans, and follow his brother's recommendations. He accordingly abandoned his pilgrimage when he found that taking religious orders would better insure the carrying out of his desire of converting the

Gentiles; and, after he had resolved to commend the affair to God, begging Him to shed light so that he might know what religious order would best contribute to the success of such a venture, he began to feel strongly moved by God, and called to the Jesuit Company. At once he described part of this experience to his brother, Father Juan, who, after giving mature consideration to his calling, gave his approval, yet he added that Juan María would never be admitted to the Company, unless he had the permission of his mother, and the consent of his brother, Don George, who was now head of the household.

So far as receiving his mother's permission went, our Juan had neither the slightest fear nor doubt, but that he could immediately convince her that, as a pious woman, not only should she not hinder him, but she should instead give him every encouragement. And this was exactly what did happen. For, when the good lady heard of it, she gave thanks to God for having deigned to call her son to so holy a Company. On the other hand, Juan felt it would be impossible to gain his brother's approval, for he realized how violently he had opposed his aspirations, and how strongly he had urged him to marry. But, finally conquering his very natural fear and trepidation, he concluded to make a clean breast of his wishes, but without disclosing, for the time being what Company he had chosen. Thereupon his brother refused to listen to him, and ordered him in a very harsh manner from his presence, remarking that this was nothing but a boy's whim, and not a true summons from God. And yet our fervent candidate failed to let this dishearten him; he merely let a few days pass by and then, with remarkable courage, returned for a sec-

ond time to face his brother, telling him he wished to make sure of salvation by taking refuge from worldly temptation, and entering the Company of Jesus, to which God was calling him. When he heard this, Don George unsheathed the dagger he carried in his belt, and said with great anger; "If you had mentioned any other Company but the one you did, the Company of Jesus, you would lie here dead by my hands; but go, take yourself off to the Company you have chosen, and do as you wish."

With this consent, although given with such bad grace, Juan hastened at once to the Father Provincial, and asked him to receive him into the Company. Having previously been informed of the remarkable qualities and virtue of this candidate, the Father Provincial admitted him, saying he was to pass his novitiate at Genoa. Quickly bidding farewell he set out, Don George, his brother, accompanying him along the road, not through any affection for him, but because he wished to torment him, with the idea of turning him from his holy intentions. With this same object in mind, Don George had previously made arrangements with a certain Canon, Prince Doria, and even with His Most Serene Highness, the Duke of Genoa himself, in whose carriage the Canon, to whom he was related, rode out to meet them, to try their best to dissuade Juan from entering the Holy Company. But nothing made an impression on this heart already filled with divine love. And, although Juan preferred to begin his novitiate at once, he was forced to comply with his brother's wishes, and first pay a visit to the Most Serene Duke and Prince Doria. Then, on the following day, when he went to become a novice, his relative the Canon

accompanied him, and up to the very last moment did not cease begging him to abandon what he had begun and to remain in the world, and enjoy the pleasures his noble birth and talents held in store for him. All this our Juan resisted firmly, as well as another obstacle put in his path by the devil, who had him, so to speak, *strongly by the locks*, as if he wished to pull him by his hair out of the Company. Now nature had in fact bestowed upon Juan very beautiful blond hair, and he began to feel somewhat reluctant to part with it. But, inspired by God's spirit, he asked very insistently to have the Brother Wardrobe-keeper cut it off immediately. Although this brother assured him that such haste was somewhat premature, yet he was touched by his earnest entreaties and condescended to cut it off without delay.

Our Juan, victorious over so many obstacles, now took leave of his brother, Father Juan, who had accompanied him as far as the house, and who told him he thought it would be advisable to leave off his surname of Salvatierra, and substitute some other family name to avoid the confusion that would naturally arise, from both their names being the same. This he did not wish to do, saying he felt the distinction would be sufficiently clear, if he added to the name of Juan that of María; so, from this time on, he was known as Juan María de Salvatierra.

Upon parting from his brother, Juan María, Father Juan gave him the beautiful picture of the Most Holy Virgin, which, as we have already said, he had selected as his companion on his pilgrimage, and asked him to send it to his sister, Mother Constancia who, with all the nuns in the convent, received it with great pleasure

and joy. In order to give it better worship they built a quaint shrine for it in the convent garden, calling it from then on, *Our Lady of the Garden.*

Now that our Juan found himself in the House of God and free from worldly temptations, with exceptional earnestness he began to aspire toward perfection, conforming without delay to the laws of our Religious Company, and to the customs and regulations laid down for novices, as if he were already an old inmate. Since he had a natural aptitude for being virtuous, he had little or nothing to overcome in order to do his best in the religious observances. Of his own free will he began to deny himself fervently and, in every way possible, to practice mortifications. He diligently observed silence and, when he was compelled to speak, his words were measured and tempered by reason. In his modest behavior he was guided by the rules prescribed for us by our Patron Saint Ignatius. And he particularly gave himself up to prayer, communing continuously with God through meditation, examination of conscience and spiritual devotions. And he called on divine guidance withal so fervently that he began to fail in health, and suffer so severely from headaches that his superiors decided that a change of climate was necessary because the Genoese climate did not suit his health; as we shall see in the following chapter.

4: THE CONTINUATION OF HIS NOVITIATE AT QUIERI, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE UP TO THE TIME HE COMPLETED HIS STUDIES

Brother Juan María had scarcely completed three years of his novitiate, when the doctors saw that his

health failed to improve under any remedy medical science could prescribe, and advised him, inasmuch as the climate of Genoa did not agree with his health, to change his place of residence to some locality with a milder climate. For this reason, the Superiors decided to send him to Piedmont to continue his studies at Quieri, about two leagues beyond Turin, where the Province of Milan maintained a house of probation. Brother Juan being far from robust, this change came as if by special grace of God, who prearranged a strong friendship for him with Brother Juan Bautista Zappa, who was also a novice there, so that his comradeship and example might serve as a powerful stimulus toward perfection.[24] It was His will that from this time on these two should be like brothers, united by a common bond and holy friendship. He had chosen them to go forth together, to ennoble, by their exemplary conduct, the Province of New Spain.

Brother Juan Bautista Zappa, when he entered the Company, was barely more than fifteen years of age, while Brother Juan María was already past eighteen.[25] Although he was the elder, yet he looked up to Brother Zappa as a perfect model of every virtue, while his example and saintly advice inspired him to emulate these same virtues. These he put into active service, tak-

[24] This friendship begun here at Quieri was destined to become a lasting one. Throughout his life, Salvatierra always looked upon Zappa as his most cherished friend, confiding to him his inmost hopes and aspirations. As this "*Life of Salvatierra*" narrates, Zappa went out with Salvatierra to Mexico, but the friends were soon sent to different missions. Zappa stayed mainly in the frontier missions of Sinaloa, dying while still in his prime at Xalmolonga, February 13, 1694. The *Archivo General y Publico* of Mexico City, in the collection known as *Memorias de Nueva España*, vol. 285 (Jesuitas 1619-1728) contains a manuscript *Life of Zappa.*

[25] Zappa was born at Milan in 1651 (Dicc. Univ.). This would make the year of Salvatierra's birth 1648, as Venegas gives it. (See foot-note, p. 64.)

ing very earnestly to the act of devotion called "Flowers of Mary" which all the novices, by taking Brother Zappa as their model, performed with great ardour. This particular practice consisted in making preparation for all the festivities in honor of the Holy Mother with acts showing their devotion to God, such as internal and external mortifications, and similar exhibitions of humility, all of which they dedicated to the Most Holy Virgin. The two zealous comrades continued to perform these devout practices throughout the year.

In addition to the aforesaid *novenas* observed by all the novices, the two set aside annually three forty-day periods for the three principal fiestas of Our Lady; that of the Conception, the Annunciation, and the glorious Assumption to Heaven. Still another forty-day period was observed by them in honor of the Most Holy Sacrament. Then during the weeks of Advent, they also offered *flores*, preparatory to celebrating the birth of the child Jesus, and *cuaresma* during Lent, in honor and memory of the passion of Our Redeemer. While thus engaged in the practice of virtue, they offered up additional *novenas*, in celebration of the feast-days of the saints of the Company, and other saints of their special devotion.[28] From this one may know that throughout the year their hearts were as one continuous flowering springtime, from whence they gathered fragrant and beautiful flowers to crown the Queen of the Heavens. But of this we shall speak at greater length in a more opportune place.

Engrossed with all these things, and also with all that the minute regulations of the novitiate exacted, Brother

[28] The novena lasted nine days; the cuaresma, forty days.

Juan María de Salvatierra completed his two years to the entire satisfaction of his superiors, and was admitted to take Holy vows. Great was his rejoicing now to find himself united and at one with the religious Company and more aloof, and freer from the tempestuous dangers of the world. Brother Zappa at the same time also took the vows of the Holy Company. Both were sent thence to the seminary at Quieri to take up cultural studies. Inasmuch as Brother Juan María had made excellent progress in these studies during his four years at Parma, he did not have to spend much time in perfecting himself in them. But such was not the case with Brother Zappa, who, since he had entered the Company at the age of fifteen, had not been able to acquire, previous to that time, the proficiency required by the faculty's high standards. For this reason he was unable to accompany Brother Juan María, who was sent by the Superiors to Genoa to pursue a course in philosophy, until the following year, at which time Brother Zappa began to study logic, and Brother Juan María began to take up physics. It has been impossible to ascertain exact details concerning this period, except for these few facts; he did not overlook a point in his religious observances, and he was one of the most successful students of his time.

Upon the completion of this course in philosophy, he was selected to teach Latin and literature in the same city of Genoa, where the climate proved no longer injurious, as it had been when his novitiate began. Four years were passed as instructor, during which he conducted himself in such a manner that the students, and the Fathers of the College as well, looked up to him as the living embodiment of every virtue. His beloved

companion, Brother Zappa, was also assigned to the same task of teaching literary subjects in the College at Nice. This was followed by his assignment, together with that of Brother Juan María de Salvatierra, to the Indies, as we shall see in the following chapter.

5: DEALING WITH HIS VOCATION, AND HIS ASSIGNMENT TO THE PROVINCE OF NEW SPAIN

We have already related in chapter two how, after reading of the progress our Holy Faith was making in the Indies through the labors of the Apostolic missionaries, Brother Juan María was kindled with an ardent yearning to convert the Gentiles, and how he wished to journey in the garb of a pilgrim from Italy to Spain, in order to avail himself of an opportune chance to set sail from the port of Cadiz. Although, upon the advice of his brother, Father Juan de Salvatierra, he had abandoned the carrying out of his plans, and had entered the Company, yet his zealous aspirations never left him but rather seemed, in this new situation, to grow stronger. Meanwhile, as the time for setting them before Our Father-general and soliciting his appointment drew near, with fervent entreaties he besought God and the Most Holy Mother to grant his earnest wishes. Immediately after entering the Company, he had given to the Father Provincial and his teachers of the novitiate, an account of his wishes and his motive in joining the Company, namely, to endeavor as best he could to convert the infidels. All had approved these plans, as the vocation of God, and had encouraged him to try and make himself worthy of so lofty a calling as the Apostolic ministry.

His brother novice, Juan Bautista Zappa, began to experience similar longings in the second year of his novitiate, at a time when, on a Good Friday, he was meditating over the burning thirst Our Lord Jesus suffered on the cross. The two, having confided to one another these inner longings which they experienced to undertake the conversion of the Gentiles, decided to ask God with many prayers and supplications for the successful outcome of the affair. Accordingly at this time, while both were students of philosophy at Genoa, they wrote to Our Father-general, Juan Paolo de Oliva, declaring their desires, and begging him to deign to appoint them, whenever the opportunity might arise, to the missions of the Indies.[27] The Father-general replied to them, commending their admirable intentions, and holding out every encouragement when the time for making the appointments should come, and two zealous brothers constantly persisted in their excellent intentions for a period of seven years, counting from the time of their novitiate until they received their assignment. As their special patroness and protectress in their venture they took the Most Holy Virgin; and to this end, and in her honor, dedicated all their penitances, *novenas, cuarentenas* and *flores*, and all other acts of devotion, selecting as intercessors with the Most Holy Queen, Our Father St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier.

Ever since Father Francisco de Florencia, who held the position of procurator for that province, had passed through Genoa on his way to Rome, and had given him an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, telling him the story of her miraculous apparition in the blanket of an

[27] Juan Paolo Oliva, the eleventh general of the Jesuit order, was in office from 1664-1681.

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Sierra grande divisada desde el Rio Gila año 1699.
Rio Gila
APACHES
Moqui
COCOMARICOPAS
YUMAS
PAPAGOS
PIMERIA
Sobaypuris
APACHES
GOLFO
SOBAS
Tepoquis
Canal de Ballenas
Naciones de Gentiles no conocidas
PROVINCIA DE SONORA
Rio de Sonora
SERIS
GUADMAS
Matape
Provincia de Ostimuri
Rio Mayo
CALIFORNIA

EARLY JESUIT MAP OF CALIFORNIA

Showing the martyrdom suffered by the missionaries at the hands of the natives

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Indian, Brother Zappa had felt especially drawn toward this Province of New Spain. After he had communicated all this to his comrade, Brother Salvatierra also began to offer special homage to the Lady of Guadalupe, and both named her "Our Lady of the Impossible;" for whatever appeared impossible they hoped to accomplish through her medium and intercession.

Another favorable indication of their appointment to the Indies was given them from Heaven by the Most Holy Virgin in her image at Loreto, an indication very opportune to one who, under the guidance of the Virgin of Loreto, was to be, as we shall see in due season, the spiritual conqueror of the Californias. While they were students of philosophy at Genoa, the two devoted companions set out one afternoon during vacation to visit an image of Our Lady of Loreto, which was located on top of a small hill outside of the city, and which commanded an unobstructed view of the sea. They entered the church; and the instant Brother Zappa knelt before the Holy Image he remained motionless, as though all his being were enraptured. And although he remained for some time in this trance, Brother Salvatierra did not try to arouse him from the sweet sleep in which his spirit reposed. When Brother Zappa finally roused himself from it, they left the church, and when they saw that two ships in the harbor had their prows headed westward, Brother Zappa burst forth with these impassioned words: "Have good cheer, my brother, this Lady is bound to guide us as surely as those ships in the harbor go to administer to the Indians. The time is bound to come, the time is bound to come, there is nothing to do but to make the necessary preparation, in order not to impede

the journey." These words gave Brother Salvatierra much comfort, leaving him very certain of the voyage to the Indies, as much by the assurance with which the words were uttered by his companion, whom he believed on this occasion to have been directly inspired by heaven, as by an inward premonition which the Lady imparted to him on that visit.

At the time when the procurators for China, Malabar, the Philippines, Quito, Paraguay and New Spain passed through Genoa on their way to Rome to solicit from Our Father-general a supply of missionaries for their provinces, a great gathering of candidates was held; chief among whom were the two whom God had destined to be Marian apostles of this North America. But it seemed beyond the range of human probability that they would be assigned to some province of the West, inasmuch as, for many years, the only ones who had been allowed to enter were those from the provinces of Spain. They had ceased to implore God and His Most Holy Mother and to beg for the favorable outcome of their wishes, when Brother Zappa received from Our Father-general a letter, appointing him to the Province of New Spain. For this he gave heartfelt thanks to God and the Most Holy Virgin, from whose hand, he believed, had come what he had desired so ardently. But the most extraordinary thing was that he immediately wrote to Nice, where Brother Salvatierra happened to be, that both of them had been assigned from the Province of Milan to New Spain, and extended to him his warmest congratulations on the appointment. I say it was very remarkable, for the other appointee from the Province of Milan was Father Ignacio Resta, a third-year theologian, to whom Brother

Zappa had not written. But throughout Genoa it was known that Brother Zappa had spoken with prophetic wisdom, like one inspired by light from above; for when Father Resta fell gravely ill Our Father-general, being notified of it, thereupon appointed Brother Juan María de Salvatierra to the Province of New Spain. And now it can be seen how great must have been the rejoicing of his soul. For it was he whom Heaven had decreed to be Apostle of the Californias, with an admirable wisdom very like that displayed by God when He substituted for Father Nicolas de Bobadilla, who fell ill after he had been appointed to Oriental India, St. Francis Xavier, whom God had destined to be the second Apostle to India and the first to Japan.

6: THEIR EMBARCATION FOR THE INDIES, AND WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE VOYAGE UP TO THE TIME THEY REACHED NEW SPAIN

After Brother Juan María had received his appointment from Our Father-general, the Superiors decided that, since he was now more than twenty-seven years of age, he should take Holy Orders; and he held his first mass. This was attended by a large gathering of the highest nobility of Genoa, for all esteemed him not so much for his noble blood as for his saintliness, and were justly proud that he was moved to abandon country, parents and friends, from the desire to convert the heathen. Upon this occasion there came from Nice to Genoa Brother Zappa, who, since he had not yet reached the proper age, could not take Holy Orders until he arrived at Cadiz. The two devoted companions employed what time they had before embarking in

visiting the various sanctuaries of the Most Holy Virgin. Here Father Juan said mass, and Brother Zappa received Holy Communion, and at the request of the Princess Doña Violante Lomelina Doria, they went to hold it in her oratory.[28] An image of the Most Holy Virgin had been placed there by the Venerable Father Balthassar de Loyola, the first prince of Fez, who afterwards became a devout member of the Company. In honor of this event there gathered many of the city's most illustrious members, who were greatly edified to see with what extreme devotion Father Juan María said mass, and Brother Zappa assisted him and received the Holy Communion.

The final pilgrimage they made was to the shrine of Our Lady of the Mountain, about a league beyond the city. At this time several ships were about to set sail, and the question arose among the missionaries as to which one should carry them to Cadiz. As some preferred one and some another, the Superior of the mission decided that the choice should be made by the vote of the missionaries themselves. In order that they might cast their votes wisely, Father Juan María and Brother Zappa went to the aforesaid sanctuary to commend the selection in this affair to the Most Holy Virgin. And the solution they arrived at was to give their vote in this form: *We choose to set sail in whatever ship appears best to our Superior.* This vote, which was so suitable to the delicacy of spirit and first concepts of obedience, proved agreeable to all. The superior accordingly selected the ship, and, when the day arrived, the entire populace who felt a universal regret over

[28] In the Bancroft collection at Berkeley, California, in *Papeles de Jesuitas*, no. 24, there is a letter sending kind remembrances from this Princess to Salvatierra.

their departure, turned out to say farewell. Nor was there less grief on the part of our members, especially those who had experienced similar longings to go out to the missions of the Indies, which they had been unable to satisfy. They set sail on the 25th day of May, 1675, a day which was considered propitious for their success. It fell on a Saturday dedicated to the Most Holy Virgin, and had been consecrated to the Saraphic Virgin Santa Maria Magdalena de Pazzi, for whom they had especial affection. It was also the second day of the *novena* in honor of the Holy Spirit, which they had begun the day before embarking, and which they continued with great ardor while on shipboard. The completion of the *novena* afforded Father Juan an excellent opportunity to put into service his apostolic zeal by the fervor of his sermons, which he conducted for all on shipboard during the three days of the Feast of the Pentecost. A Dutch fleet had been sighted; and they were afraid also of encountering the Moorish ships that ordinarily infested this part of the Mediterranean sea; so they decided to seek safety in the Port of Alicante, where they arrived Saturday, June 8, on the eve of the feast of the Holy Spirit. After all the crew belonging to the convoy had gone on shore, the missionary Fathers put into practical use their enthusiasm by zealous preaching, in which Father Juan María and Brother Zappa labored not a little, with fervent words and exhortations. And all the Fathers did so well in hearing the confessions, which lasted up to the time when they had to embark, and so fruitful were the results, that it brought about a marked reform in the habits of the people.

On Wednesday of that same week they re-embarked,

and after experiencing a violent hurricane on Sunday, the feast day of the Most Holy Trinity, and suffering from contrary winds before arriving at the Straits of Gibraltar, they finally put in at the Port of Cadiz, June 18, 1675, which was eight days before Corpus. Here they were detained for twenty days, while all the ships of the fleet that were going to set forth were made ready. Finally on the 8th day of July of the same year, Father Juan María and his saintly companion, Juan Bautista Zappa, who had now been ordained a priest at Cadiz, embarked, together with the other missionaries who were on their way to this province or that of the Philippines. Among these were three who afterwards received the palm of martyrdom at the hands of the heathen; Father Manual Solorzanas in the Marianne Islands and Father Juan Ortiz Foronda and Manuel Sanchez in our Mission Los Tarahumares.[29]

They embarked on the 8th of July, sail being set on the 11th in a ship called *La Concepcion*, a beautiful name, which served greatly to increase Father Juan María's feeling of confidence that, with the protection of the Immaculate Lady, they should enjoy every blessing throughout the voyage. This happily he could say, for in a few days many suffered greatly, and many more excited the greatest sympathy and compassion, for an epidemic broke out on ship and a great number fell victims to its violence. The few among the number who escaped gave heroic assistance in the cure and bodily and spiritual relief of the sick. In this Father Juan María so distinguished himself that all called him *El*

[29] See account on pp. 131-132 of the martyrdom of these two missionaries. Their deaths were occasioned by a series of revolts among the unconverted Tarahumares Indians; which came to a head in April, 1690. Sanchez and Foronda were killed on April 11, 1690, (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 79.)

Padre Santo, the Saintly Father. Yet soon after he contracted the same malady and suffered from a very high fever; but God, who had destined him as an apostle to a foreign people, restored to him his health.

Porto Rico, the first Port of the Indies, was reached on the day sacred to the Most Holy Virgin's Triumphant and Glorious Assumption to Heaven. After the ships had taken on water they continued their successful voyage until they arrived at the Port of Vera Cruz, which Father Juan María and all his companions entered on the evening before the Raising of the Holy Cross, September 13, 1675.

7: HE GOES TO MEXICO CITY, AND BEGINS HIS THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, AT THE SAME TIME APPLYING HIMSELF WITH DILIGENCE TO MINISTERING TO HIS NEIGHBORS

After resting several days at the College of Vera Cruz, Father Juan María departed with his beloved companion, Father Juan Bautista Zappa, and the other missionaries, on Saturday, September 21, arriving finally at Mexico City the first of October, the eve of the Guardian Angels' day. On this day they offered prayers at an inn near the city. On the evening of the following day they gave a long and devout talk on the mercies God had bestowed on them through the medium of his Holy Angels, from the time of their departure from Italy until they arrived in Mexico, which they looked on as a promised land, an Israel toward which an Angel was leading them.

They were welcomed in Mexico City, with those demonstrations of brotherly kindliness, which their

province was in the habit of according its missionaries, who had left home and native land to take their part in the conversion of the heathen, and the salvation of their brethren. With this same friendly spirit, V. P. Pablo de Salzedo, who was head of the College, and a very Saintly man, at once took them into his apartment where in a few timely words, he thanked them for their zealousness in coming to serve in their province, in their missions, and in laboring to save souls. Then he added that his main pleasure in being head of the College was to avail himself of the privilege his official authority gave him of being of service to all, and that he was ready to do all in his power for their comfort and welfare. These explanations were given with such keen expressions of affection and with such a benevolent air that many of those present were moved to shed gentle tears, and all extended to the Father Rector their heartfelt thanks. After this they were shown the rooms which had been prepared for them.

During the first few days of October, which happened to be vacation time, they rested. Then after celebrating, together with the others, the exercises of Our Father St. Ignatius, Father Juan María began his theological studies on St. Luke's day; first returning however, with his companion, Father Zappa, to visit the celebrated shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, since it was this lady, who had so greatly honored them with her miraculous apparition, and who had brought them from Italy to New Spain, so that both might be Mary's apostles. One day, with the permission of the Superiors, the two started on foot for the aforesaid shrine, which was a league or more beyond the city. There they celebrated the Holy Sacrifice with mass,

and spent a long time giving the thanks, so deeply deserved, to the Transubstantiated Lord and his Most Holy Mother, consecrating their lives, with the greatest ardor, to procuring as best they could the salvation of souls, especially those of the Indians; and it seemed to them as if the Royal Queen in her miraculous image said to them, as Christ said to his disciples; "Lift up your eyes and behold the lands for they are now ripe for the harvest." (John IV, 35.) And from that day both resolved to go together, and visit the Lady in her sanctuary each month, and on all the principal festival days as well. And this they did as long as they were students there.

The comfort they received from these visits enabled them to pursue their theological studies with extraordinary zeal and fervor. They persisted in the worship of *the flowers of Mary*, and also in practising virtue, for they were aware that such discipline would be instrumental in enabling them to convert souls, in accordance with what Saint Paul wrote to his disciple Timothy: "Listen to my teachings: Remain steadfast in those, for in so doing you will save yourself and those who hear you" (I Tim. IV, 16). Even before the time arrived for them to devote themselves solely to ministering to the needy, they did not neglect this during their student days, but without slighting any of their scholastic duties they did whatever they could to aid in the work of salvation. They attended diligently to the duties of the confessional and went gladly when they were sent to confess the sick and to comfort the dying. On feast days and vacations they went out to give sermons and to expound the Christian doctrine, in the streets and squares, preaching frequently in the hos-

pitals and prisons, remaining afterwards to confess all who so desired and to dispense the alms that they had been able to collect in the city. In this way they gained the good-will of all, especially of the prisoners who showed aversion in the beginning, and had to be compelled to attend them; yet later, on instruction days, when the two fathers entered the prison, all the prisoners of their own accord were already congregated in the chapel.

At this time the prisoners were extremely restless, and complained of the terrifying noises, groans and wails that were heard after nightfall in various parts of the prison, together with the incessant dragging of chains, which prevented either sleep or rest the entire night through. His attention being drawn to this disagreeable situation, V. P. Vidal, who was at that time prefect of the jails, decided, – as is discussed at length in his "Life," – to have a four-day session of prayer for the prisoners.

They began this Saturday, the eve of Pentecost, dedicating the three ensuing days to the Holy Spirit. They chose for this mission our two apostolic missionaries, together with two other fourth-year theologians, for the readings, sermons and confessions of those days. During this period all five had to labor unceasingly, but the most difficult task fell to Father Juan María; that is to say, he was selected for the votive mass said for Our Patron Saint Ignatius, whom they had chosen to be patron of the jails and prisons. Then after mass had been said, they carried in procession the image of the Saint, Father María officiating as high mass celebrant giving in each and every cell the exorcisms of the Church. From that day on the noises vanished, and the prisoners became tractable and happy.

8: FATHER JUAN MARÍA IS SENT TO TEACH RHETORIC IN THE CITY OF PUEBLA; AND DEVOTES HIMSELF TO THE SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF THE INDIANS IN THE CHAPEL OF SAN MIGUEL

The ardent zeal of Father Juan María was not content to work solely for the good of his brethren; he also undertook, during his first two years as a theological student, the study of the Mexican tongue, in order to equip himself, after leaving his studies, for the spiritual advancement of the Indians. And so well did he apply himself in that short space of time that after the aforesaid two years he found himself already so expert in the language that he was able to confess in it, and to preach to the Indians. In order that he might not find this talent useless, God, in his wise providence, brought it to pass that he should put this into service for the benefit of the Indians, before he had completed his theological studies, the following occasion furnishing the means for this end. In our College of the Holy Spirit at La Puebla there was a chapel, or small church, known as San Miguel, the door of which opened on a street dedicated to the head of the army of Angels, in which was carried on the ministerings to the Indians, in imitation of the College of San Gregorio in Mexico, dedicated, at the time of its foundation, to this same ministering to the Indians. This chapel or church of San Miguel had been closed ever since the founding a few years later in this same city of Puebla, of the College of San Xavier, whose sole object was to promote the welfare and advancement of the Indians, instructing them, in the Mexican language, in the mysteries and excellent customs of Our Holy Faith. The aforesaid chapel, or little church, of San Miguel had, in the

meantime, been cared for by our Father Juan de Burgos, who had now reached so advanced an age that he was the oldest professed member of the entire company, and needed to have some one to help him in caring for the Indians. A letter to this effect has been received from Our Father-general Juan Paolo de Oliva, in which he highly commended the person of the said Juan de Burgos, as the eldest of the whole company. He also offered the suggestion that in every possible way they should try to lighten his work and afford him rest, and that they should choose a useful companion, one well versed in the Mexican tongue, who could assist him, and even lift from his shoulders the entire burden of ministering to the Indians. At the time they did not find at hand anyone more promising for the execution of this superior order than Father Juan María de Salvatierra. And thus, after passing the second year examinations in theology, he was at once sent to teach rhetoric in the College of the Holy Spirit at Puebla, and at the same time to aid and assist Father Juan de Burgos in the spiritual ministration of the Indians.

Nor should we omit relating how lofty were Father Juan María's qualities of obedience and humiliation that came to light upon this occasion. It is a custom in that province for the brothers, or father students, not to teach more than two years of grammar before completing their studies. Knowing that Father Juan María had already taught four in his own province, when it was seen that after two years of theological studies he had been sent to teach rhetoric, they greatly misconstrued this appointment, and arrived at the conclusion that the motive the Superiors had for releasing him from his studies was because he had failed in his second

year examinations in theology. Nor did they hide these suspicions from Father Juan María, who did not say a word, but endured this vexation in humble silence and lowered his head without replying or making any protest whatsoever. And his companion Father Zappa, who knew very well how much Father Juan María had excelled the others, even the most enlightened in the school, did not hesitate to concur, holding that it was all a special dispensation of divine providence for the good of many souls. He exhorted and encouraged him to make the best of the situation which God had visited on him to make him humble, adding that he ought to consider it a mark of God's favor and of the Holy Mother's, that he had been selected to serve and aid so worthy a man as Father Juan de Burgos, whom he should regard with the greatest respect and affection for having written and brought to public light, in a very large volume, the panegyric history of *Our Lady of Loreto* to whom they were both so deeply indebted.

After this advice, and much more by the help of his fervent spirit obedient and submissive as always, he accepted the appointment of his Superiors and at once departed with such alacrity that he had no time to go and take leave of Our Lady of Guadalupe. However, he authorized Father Zappa to visit her in his name, not only on this occasion, but throughout the year as well. This commission his good friend fulfilled, and the Most Holy Virgin, through the medium of this same Father Zappa, gave him to understand how much she loved him, and sent him affectionate messages, together with words of caution. This is clear from the many letters which he sent to Puebla, from one of which may be inferred the close relation this good man

had with the Most Holy Virgin, and from another how the Loyal Queen kept her most devoted servant Father Juan María constantly in her memory. In one of these, dated December 2, 1677, from Father Zappa, appear these words:

> On Thursday, St. Catherine's day, I was at Guadalupe with Father Medina and with Your Reverence in spirit. The Virgin is always beautiful and is greatly in accord with us, and sends many remembrances to your Reverence, saying: 'Remember me, and I shall remember you.'

In another dated April 21 of the following year, he also says:

> On the 21st of March, I went to pay respects to our Lady of Gaudalupe, On the occasion of Her Highness's elevation as Mother of God; and, in Your Reverence's place, Brother Manuel Sanchez accompanied me. How friendly she is towards us! She told us what Christ said to his disciples: 'It is I, have no fear,' and she held out to them her hands and side. (John, xx, 20.) I am the one who has brought you to this land, I have guarded you upon it until now. I have separated you: Have no fear I decide all. In the future, I shall arrange all to my greatest glory, and that of my son. As pledge and as certain proof look at what my son has suffered for you, and what I also suffer. What, then, should we fear when we have placed ourselves under the guidance of so good a Mother? Today I went again to present my felicitations because of the resurrection of her son, and she repeated the same words to me.

After his arrival at Puebla, Father Juan María tried earnestly to perform those duties which obedience entailed upon him. With this end in view, he directed his attention especially toward three things. The first of these was, to do his best, with all the affection of a son, to aid Father Burgos in every possible way, with frequent expressions of charity, placing the care of his health above all else, and procuring every comfort for him. This occasion afforded him the opportunity to

take from Father Juan de Burgos many lessons in the Mexican tongue, and to obtain as well many suggestions as to the most practical way of handling the Indians. By these lessons and suggestions he was well prepared for the second end toward which he wished to direct his attention, – to further, as far as he could without neglecting his classes, the spiritual advancement of the Indians. On feast-days, and week day vacations, he applied himself to confessional, in order to gather the fruit of his labors in preaching in the Mexican dialect, in the public squares, and particularly in the little church of San Miguel.

The goal toward which he directed his attention was fully to comply with what obedience required of him; namely, to look after the successful education of the youths of Puebla. He was most punctilious in attending to all the duties of the class-room, and since he had a very gentle spirit and a conciliating manner of dealing with everyone, he gained the strong affection of his disciples and could do whatever he wished with them. Now by affection, now by his witty way of speaking, now by the point-of-honor method, and now by stimulating competition among them, he aided them to study diligently and thoroughly the precepts of poetry and oratory, which ranked as the most important of the minor studies. But his greatest wish was to inspire in them a sense of virtue and of divine service. He endeavored to fill them with a holy fear of God, now by private conversations which he had with them, now by exhortations to his class, when he expounded, as was his custom, on Saturdays, the Holy Christian doctrine, by drawing from it instructions for the holy fear of the Lord and a sincere fondness for virtue, and again large-

ly by fervent appeals which were made on Sunday evenings in the Chapel of the Congregation of the Annunciation. It was here that his forceful zeal had wider play, for in his audience he had not only his own disciples but all the students from the other halls as well, who were taking minor studies and who were present when he gave his exhortations and his sermons.

As a general thing his sermon had as its theme how they should hold all mortal sin in horror, how they should appreciate divine grace, recognize the danger of having evil companions, and the need of frequent attendance at the Holy Sacrament; always with the added advice that they should select in ample time the mode of life which would conform in the best way to their needs, and which would secure for them salvation. For the attainment of this he advised, as a well-balanced, tranquil and harmonious medium, a tender devotion and a sincere love for Our Holy Mother, warmly commending to them the worship of the flowers of Mary on festival days and Saturdays throughout the year, aiming to encourage them to undertake acts of devotion which were suitable for their tender years. Then, at the time of the *novenas* of Our Lady, he had them write down without signing their names any particular acts of devotion which they had offered, in those nine days, as flowers to Our Lady. During the first days of the gathering he read these in public, an act which encouraged the congregation greatly, especially those from the other classes, to become more zealous in their love and devotion to Mary. The result was that his class appeared to be a school of Mary, where they raised angels for heaven, rather than a hall of lectures on Cicero and Virgil, where they were trained to be ora-

tors and poets. Nevertheless, they took great pride in having well-informed students.

9: HE RETURNS TO MEXICO TO CONTINUE HIS STUDIES, AND FALLS ILL OF A DANGEROUS FEVER

After he had completed his year as instructor in rhetoric at Puebla, Father Juan María returned to Mexico City to pursue his theological studies. Since it was vacation time, he seized the first opportunity to accompany his saintly comrade to the shrine of Our Lady of Gaudalupe, to extend to her thanks for his successful year, and to renew his promise to please and serve her in all things. Before vacation was over, and after holding together with his fellow-students devotional services, he began his third year of theology, October 19, 1678. He continued, as before, his custom of visiting the prisons on feast-days and during vacations, and of making fervent addresses on behalf of the Christian life. When the prisoners had the opportunity of seeing him for the first time after his return they expressed very great pleasure, just as, according to what he wrote to his Saintly comrade, Father Zappa, they had showed much feeling when he left for Puebla.

Father Juan María, however, was unable to continue these visits to the prisons, as before long he was taken with a severe fever that endangered his life and compelled their discontinuance. A general epidemic of fever at the time was raging throughout Mexico, lasting for three years, from 1678 to 1680. When it first spread to Our Royal College of San Ildefenso, owing to the high opinion everyone had of the sanctity of the Fathers, Juan Zappa and Juan María de Sal-

vatierra, all their sick colleagues begged to make their confessions to them. So, no matter when they were called, these Fathers went promptly and very zealously to hear confessions, or to prepare them for a peaceful end, if such should be God's will. Among these sick people who fell to Father Juan María's care was Don Francisco Diaz Pimienta, a first-degree bachelor, who later, upon recovering, joined the Company of Jesus, and who passed away many years after, having by that time attained the rank of the Four Vows. Having made his confession, this patient begged Father Juan María to read him the gospel, and at that instant the fever vanished, and he was left free from illness. The sickness, however, passed on to the Father, who noticed, among the first symptoms that the thumb and forefinger which he used in making the sign of the cross on the forehead, began to swell and discharge matter. Feeling quite indisposed, he returned to the College, where he was told to go to bed immediately. He was assigned a room in the infirmary, which had been unoccupied for a considerable period, and which in consequence did not have in it either an image of the Most Holy Virgin or any other saint, upon which the sick man might feast his eyes, and to whom he might commend himself. The lack of this was noticed when the Venerable Father Antonio Nuñez, who at the time was Rector of Maximo College, came to see him. In carrying out his orders to bring one without delay, the first one they found was an image of St. Francis Xavier.

This, to all appearances merely a coincidence, was believed to be the intervention of divine providence, desirous that since Father Juan María, with his own hand had removed the fever from a sick colleague, another

invisible hand, that of St. Francis Xavier, should take it suddenly away from him. The College physician, one of the best known doctors in the city, came hurriedly to see him, took his pulse, and after being informed what the sick man's symptoms were, (he) told them to administer without delay all the final sacraments. These were given that same day, while the fever rose incessantly and so persistently that his life was in very grave danger. The doctor left orders that as soon as he died he was to be buried so that the plague might not infect the College. This they had done a few days earlier with Father Florian Alberto, whose fever, so this same doctor assured them, had not been half so deadly or contagious as Father Juan de Salvatierra's. Then, giving the case up as hopeless, he told them in leaving to give him anything to eat he asked for, and in every way to humor him.

Acting upon these instructions, and with the doctor's consent, the brother who was nursing him asked if he craved anything. When the Father replied there was nothing he wanted, the brother thinking this was the result of his humbleness of spirit, with the authority the role of nurse gave him, (he) commanded him to tell what he desired. Then, realizing that according to our rules he was obliged to obey, he said he would gladly take a little lettuce, cooked in very strong vinegar. In the meantime, his companion, Father Zappa, was communing with God, in constant prayers and entreaties, using as intercessor the great apostle, St. Francis Xavier, whom the two had chosen as their special patron for their missions and their apostolic labors.

Now when the lettuce had been prepared as the Father wished it, in the presence of this same Father Zappa,

who had placed his hand upon his head, he began to eat it. Then a marvellous thing happened! As he was on the point of consuming it, he seemed to feel a hand at the back of his head, which seemed to draw out and take away all the deadly malady, which caused the fever, from his body. And suddenly he felt so entirely well, that he wished to dress immediately, and to go and give thanks to God for the health which had been so miraculously restored to him. But the brother who was nursing him believed the fever had made him delirious and refused to permit it, telling him to try to rest and sleep.

To this the father acquiesed and slept tranquilly throughout the night. In the morning the doctor came expecting to find him dead. On the contrary, he discovered he had recovered completely, and was entirely free from fever. But being rather skeptical of so unexpected a recovery, he waited until the next day. Then, finding no change, he said there was no natural cause to which he could attribute this sudden cure, and thought it must be some strange miracle. Even though he did not know by whom this great miracle had been wrought, Father Juan was not ignorant of its origin, for in a statement he made, which is quoted in the notable life of Father Zappa, and which describes this episode, he remarks clearly that he owed this miraculous restoration of his health to the powerful intercession of St. Francis Xavier, by whose unseen hand all the insidious malady was removed, and who restored to him perfect health, because of the entreaties and ardent prayers of his comrade, Father Zappa. And I cannot omit what he has left in writing about this incident, in the testimony he gave of the life and virtue of Father

Zappa, after the latter's death, because these are so laudatory of the said Father Zappa; seeing that he asked pardon for being so lengthy in his relation of the affair, saying: But I felt myself carried away by affection for so truly devout a disciple of the Lord and also from the obligation of owing my life to St. Francis Xavier, through the prayers of this great saint, Father Juan Bautista Zappa.

10: HOW FATHER JUAN MARÍA BUILT THE CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF LORETO IN THE CHURCH OF SAN GREGORIO

Having now recovered from his dangerous illness, and having thanked God and St. Francis Xavier for the health so marvellously restored to him, he continued to pursue his theological and literary labors with the same zeal he had shown throughout the two preceding years, notwithstanding the fact that, during the two remaining years he was a student of theology, his duties were greatly increased through the epidemics with which Mexico had been infested for many years, by the great number of sick and by the innumerable confessions he was summoned to hear.

When he was on the point of beginning his third year of theology, he made a pledge to build a chapel in our Church of San Gregorio, in honor of the Most Holy Virgin, modelled after the Holy House of Nazareth where she was carried by the Holy Angels, and which is known today as the Holy House of Loreto. To make it possible to carry out this plan Father Juan María, assisted by his companion Father Zappa, wrote a letter to Father Juan de Salvatierra, who was living

in Genoa, begging him to send them the measurements of the Holy House, and also to have made a bust, like the one in the original Holy House of Loreto, of the Lady of Loreto, holding the child Jesus in her arms. This, he assured the Father, would be a very excellent way of inspiring devotion for the Most Holy Virgin, as had occurred when they had made a replica of the House in the church of San Gregorio; for after they had made several others of similar style in Tepotzotlan, Queretaro, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, and even in the most distant Missions, it came to pass that the admiration and devotion for Our Queen grew stronger daily.

Father Juan de Salvatierra complied fully with this request, sending all they had asked for. Barely had these reached Mexico when Father Zappa, who had now completed his fourth year as a theological student, was appointed minister of Our Novitiate at Tepotzotlan, which left Father Juan María to complete the building of the house, all the charges being borne by himself. Now since his only funds were the alms that divine providence moved the hearts of the faithful to give, he decided to start out, after first obtaining the permission of the Superiors, with wicker baskets on his shoulders, through the streets of Mexico. More easily to obtain voluntary contributions, he had made from pasteboard a small model of the House which a little Indian lad, from the Seminary of San Gregorio, was to carry behind the Father. It served as a model to illustrate how the Holy House, for whose construction he was asking alms, was to be built.

The foundation of this building was laid by Father Juan María, with an act of profound humility, mortifi-

cation and forbearance. In the first place, to conquer his bashfulness he went into the house of a very rich and influential citizen, who became angry and abusive when asked for alms, and called him extremely harsh and insulting names. At the same time he threw two *reals* from a balcony down into the patio where Father Juan María and his companion stood, telling him, with every evidence of excessive anger, never to return or darken his doors again. The Father very humbly lifted the two *reals* from the floor, kissed them, and gave loving thanks to the man who had thrown them in his face in so ungracious and discourteous a manner. But God at once rewarded Father Juan María's patience and humility, for just as he was turning to leave the house, Captain Don Juan Joseph de Retis, a Knight of the Order of Santiago, and one of the City's richest and most powerful citizens, happened to be riding down the street in his carriage. Being an exceptionally pious and charitable man, when he spied Father Juan María with his baskets on his shoulders and found out he was begging alms he told the coach to stop, and called the Father to his side. When he learned that the alms were to be used in building the Holy House of Loreto, he said with deep affection: "Let Jesus return, my father, to his College, and not go about abashed, for I shall build the Chapel to your taste and as you want it since it was for this that my fortune was given to me by God."

Father Juan María acknowledged without delay this remarkably charitable and liberal offer, thanking him sincerely for it; but adding that he could not allow him to make the entire donation, since it was the wish of the Most Holy Virgin that many should join in giving alms, so that all might share in her benefits and bless-

ings. And yet the good Knight coveting, although piously, the Most Holy Virgin's gratitude and protection, stood firmly by his original idea of bearing all the expense of the labor. Father Juan María also persisted graciously in refusing, giving the same reason he had given before, but adding that the Most Holy Virgin would abundantly reward the other's worthy intentions, as much as if he had actually put them into execution. It was certainly a most extraordinary dispute, and a very curious situation, that one who asked alms would refuse to receive all that were offered, steadfastly requesting that a lesser sum should be given.

Eventually Father Juan María came out victorious, for when this Knight saw how firm he was, fearing that if he should leave the decision to the Father a very narrow limit would be placed on his liberality, he said he would give five hundred *pesos* to begin with, but only on the understanding that the Father promised to appeal to him if the remaining donations failed to cover the total expenditures.

Precisely what happened in the case of this gentleman happened with others as well, several of whom, when they saw what work he was undertaking, offered to bear all the expenses. But withal, Father Juan María held his ground firmly, telling them that Our Lady wished the money to come from all, from rich and from poor, from nobles and from plebeians, and that her desire was to receive something from every one of them, no matter how little it might be, in order to grant to them all her many favors.

So pleased was the Royal Queen with the great confidence of her servant, that several times, on roads where he least expected it, she sent him aid for his

buildings. And it frequently happened that when Saturday arrived and he had no funds with which to pay his workmen on the day following, on that same Saturday evening or Sunday morning alms came to him when he least expected it, so that he was never without the funds necessary to pay his workmen.

With this pecuniary aid, and with the permission given him by the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Archbishop, the Señor Viceroy Don Fray Payo de Ribera, to work on feast-days, the building in a few months was completed. In the decoration of the new chapel and Holy House of Loreto he was assisted by a number of people, among them Señora Dona Isabella Picazo, a lady well-known for her nobility, piety and wealth, who gave as her share the coverings and other ornaments for the Holy Image of Our Lady. The next thing Father Juan María arranged was for the chapel to be dedicated, which was scheduled for January 5, 1680. This event took place before an unusually large congregation and amid demonstrations of affection from the loyal ones. Upon this occasion there occurred a remarkable incident. While they were celebrating the dedicatory mass an earthquake shook the city, which could only signify the wrath of the evil one over the fact that so many souls had escaped his greedy clutches and found their way to the Lady of Loreto. From this time on, the Holy House came to be recognized as one of the most celebrated sanctuaries in Mexico, not only for the innumerable miracles performed by Our Lady in benefiting bodily ailments, but also for the conversions of sinners who repaired to seek the good of their souls through the medium of the Great Lady.

11: THE IMPROVEMENTS WHICH HAVE SINCE BEEN MADE IN THE HOLY HOUSE OF LORETO

Inasmuch as the Chapel or Holy House of Loreto, which was built in our church of San Gregorio, was entirely a labor of devotion and love on the part of the Venerable Father, Juan María de Salvatierra, it will not be foreign to our subject, since we are writing the history of his life, to refer in this chapter to the remarkable progress, both temporal and spiritual, which has been made by this same house and the angelical shrine of the Great Lady.

For six years the Holy House remained on the spot where Father Juan María had placed it when it was originally built, but when the church of San Gregorio was rebuilt, the Venerable Father Zappa, realizing that the entrance to the saintly chapel was too far toward the rear of the church, determined to make a new one in the center of the church, and opposite the side entrance. Upon its completion, on March 12, 1686, it was dedicated. Several years after, in 1715, the Auditor of Public Incomes, Don Juan Antonio de Claveria, built, at his personal expense, a beautiful altar room to the rear of the image. Through this act the devotion of the loyal members increased greatly, for they used this small room as a retreat and refuge in time of sorrow. Silently testifying to this are the innumerable offerings of wax and silver images hanging from the walls, close to the shrine, together with many paintings, all of which depict episodes in the lives of the worshippers, when they had experienced the miraculous intercession of the Great Lady.

So strong, indeed, was the filial confidence of all in this sacred image of the Lady, that her house served as

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the chief shelter and refuge in times of public danger. In the year 1727, Mexico City, and virtually the entire kingdom of New Spain, was swept by an epidemic of measles, from which thousands perished. When human remedies failed to check its ravages, the Archbishop of Mexico, the Most Illustrious Don Francis Joseph Lanziego y Eguilaz, had recourse to divine measures and decided to have the Holy Image of Loreto carried in procession from the church of San Gregorio to the Holy Cathedral. In this church they held a nine-day session of devout prayer in which they were assisted both by ecclesiastical and secular bodies, while the devout congregation offered to go to the cathedral *en masse*, and sing alternately the *salve* and the Litanies of Our Mother. The last day was given over to a sermon delivered by the Doctor and Master Don Bartholomé de Yta y Parra, who at the time was Canon Magistrate of the Cathedral. When the nine days of mass were ended, the sacred image was returned in the same solemn procession to the church of San Gregorio, the streets through which it passed being adorned with various decorations. Touched by the great affection and by the devotion of many native Indians who brought baskets of exquisite flowers, which they scattered along the streets where the Madonna Lauretana was to pass, the Holy Lady, being highly gratified by these pious tributes, purified the atmosphere and checked the deadly malady which was ravaging all Mexico, and restored to the city its health.

The devotion of the public to the Image was so greatly increased by her act of charity that from this time on, especially on Saturdays and on each of her holidays, innumerable gatherings were held to worship

Mary. During the nine days before the blessed birth of the Virgin, the church could scarcely hold all who came to hear the inspiring sermons given on that day, and to assist at the singing of mass without being solicited by the College, also observing the sacred devotionals on the days consecrated for this purpose. And it is well-known, that of all the *novenas* offered throughout the city churches in honor of the Most Holy Virgin, and saints of the Order, in none was there so large a gathering, nor were confessions and communions so numerous, as during the nine days dedicated to the Virgin of Loreto. Upon the conclusion of the *novena*, on the eighth of September, a very large and magnificent feast was held with solemn mass, sermons, special music and immense gatherings. But what distinguished this most Noble, Imperial City of Mexico above all else was the fact that the City as a body and privately with ensigns personally celebrated the feast.

The year 1735, when the city was suffering from an epidemic of smallpox, the Most Noble City Council asked that at its own expense, a *novena* should be made to the Great Lady, placing the sacred image of Lady Loreto in the main altar of the Church, and call upon all the faithful people to apply as a common shelter, to the Sovereign Queen; since for several of those nine days it assisted at the solemn mass of those days.

Similarly throughout the years '36 and '37, when there was a greater and more widespread epidemic, known in Mexican idiom as *Matlalzahua*, from which perished, in Mexico City and its environs alone, more than forty thousand persons, again recourse was had to the Holy Virgin of Loreto. At the urgent request of this same civic body, who defrayed all expenses, a

solemn *novena* was held. After obtaining the consent of the Father Provincial, they carried the Sovereign Image in solemn procession from the church of San Gregorio to the place where they took vows. There, after being on exhibition for thirty days, so that the public might worship, it was returned in the same devout manner to the church of San Gregorio. Touched by such acts of reverence, and by the many confessions and communions offered her during these days, the Most Holy Virgin removed from Mexico the deadly malady with which, for some months past, it had been sorely burdened and in a very short time restored to Mexico its usual health.

Many other things that were brought to pass by this Great Lady can be traced directly to this sanctuary, but all this is sufficient to show how warmly Father Juan María de Salvatierra should be commended and praised for having erected in Mexico City this shrine to comfort those in sorrow and to relieve every affliction.

12: FATHER JUAN MARÍA, HAVING COMPLETED HIS STUDIES, IS ASSIGNED TO MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE INDIANS

Neither his ministrations as a saver of souls, nor the energy he expended in building the Holy Chapel and House of Loreto, hindered the Venerable Father Juan María from making notable progress in his studies. Since he was constantly inspired while at college by love of God and of Mary, these sovereign instructors showed him how to apportion his time discreetly among his many interests. Such good progress did he make in his chosen study of theology that he

finished with the greater thesis, occupying the whole day and defended it with great brilliancy, and the unanimous approval of the Father Instructors. Accordingly, with the ratification of their sworn testimony, which is required by the laws of Our Company, – they judged him worthy of the rank of Four Vows, a rank which is equal to that of Master in the Jesuit Order.[30]

After completing the prescribed studies, he began at once to look to an assignment to the Missions. It was his hope that he might have with him in this request Father Juan Bautista Zappa, who had been his comrade throughout college as well as on his long trip from Italy to the Indies. He wrote upon the matter to Father Zappa at Tepotzotlan, where he was head of the school for novices; and after he had made several trips to Mexico City, Father Juan María insisted that the two should unite in petitioning for the missions. Father Zappa, however, who had already petitioned them insistently with the great light that God had bestowed upon him, had reached a state of complete submission, and merely advised Father Salvatierra to do what he thought best, since he himself could do no more, for he would not think of making another request. Then Father Juan María began to remonstrate with him, asking for what purpose they had come from Italy. To this Father Zappa replied that it was only to do God's will in everything, and that the All-Powerful, if it should be his pleasure, would arrange for the Su-

[30] "Professed of the Four Vows" is the fourth and highest class of the Jesuit Order. Professed Fathers are the elite of the Company of Jesus and are permitted as a general thing to take the vows only after years of preparation. In addition to the three solemn vows of poverty, charity, and obedience a fourth is added, a professed Father pledging to start on any mission at home or abroad, even at risk of life, when so ordered by this general.

periors to make the appointment. But Father Juan María insisted it was not contrary to God's pleasure and will to ask for it with resignation and submission. "Then ask for it, Your Reverence" replied Father Zappa. What an admirable discussion this, between two such holy men!

It was one which undoubtedly had on both sides a certain degree of justice. Father Juan María petitioned with Isaiah: "Here I am, send me," (Isaiah iv, 8). And Father Zappa, like St. Paul, asked no favors, resigning all to the will of God, saying: "Lord what wilt thou have me do?" (Acts ix, 6). Eventually, however, both succeeded in complying with God's will in regard to the missions, for which they were destined by divine providence, for Father Zappa was selected by the Superiors to remain in Mexico City, in the College of San Gregorio, an institution founded for the mental and spiritual enlightenment of the Christian Indians, while Father Juan María was appointed to the missions for heathen Indians.

Now, although he should have spent considerable time making preparations for this long journey, yet Father Salvatierra hastened his departure as much as possible, for he was aware that the Most Illustrious Doctor, Don Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz, intended to ask the Father Provincial to establish missions in the extensive bishopric of Puebla, and he feared this might hinder or retard him in the plans and hopes he entertained of working among the heathen Indians. For this reason he left Mexico absolutely unaccompanied, without even a servant to act as guide and help him saddle and unsaddle his animal. In order to travel without encumbrances he left his books and per-

sonal belongings, which would have added materially to his comfort, with his friend Father Zappa, to be sent out later with the pack-train which is dispatched annually to the missions. This accomplished, the solitary pilgrim began his long journey, a trip of 400 leagues or more, his only companion being his Guardian Angel, with whom he had intimate and friendly communication, and small images of the Lady of Loreto and the Lady of Guadalupe, and another of Saint Francis Xavier, whom he had selected as the special patron of his missions.

Thus, amid the hardships, trials and tribulations which are incidental to so long a journey, he travelled on until he had the good fortune to reach one of the new settlements of the Temoris, called Santa María Magdalena. Here the parishioners, – Indians who had been recently converted to our Holy Faith, – came out to greet him with expressions of great joy, and with a festive representation of one of their military marches. At sight of this Father Juan María could not keep back his tears of satisfaction and happiness when he saw how happy and obedient were these Indians who had lived for so many years in such dense ignorance and idolatry. The missionary at this little village was Father Fernando Pecoro, a Sicilian by birth, who welcomed Father Juan María with warm offers of hospitality, and with whom he spent several days resting, and several more gathering information about the customs in that locality, and the manner in which the Fathers administered the missions; also in learning the rudiments of the Tarahumares language, the tongue he would have to use in his intercourse with the natives.[31]

[31] Pecoro had come into the Tarahumara country in 1676, had subdued the

From here he passed on to the missions known as Santa Inez de los Chínipas, where he found Father Nicolas de Prado, a Neapolitan by birth, and of noble ancestry, who had renounced the material things of life to join our Company, and who, being very eager to convert the Gentiles, had asked for and was sent to the missions of New Spain, at the time when Father Juan María de Salvatierra and Father Juan Bautista Zappa had petitioned and were also given their assignment there. Together the three had come from Genoa to Cadiz, and all had travelled in the same ship to this Province. In the meantime, while Father Zappa and Father Juan María de Salvatierra had been occupied with their studies, Father Prado and Father Pecoro had been sent to the missions of Chínipas, Guazaparis, and Varahios, which they entered as into an uncultivated thicket, and where they labored with a truly apostolic zeal to tame the rebellious tribes who had been in need of missions for forty years, from the time they had thrown off the yoke of God's Holy Law, and cruelly caused the death of Father Julio Pasqual and Father Manuel Martinez.[32] And although the Chínipas had always remained loyal, yet because of the continued enmity of hostile tribes they had left their own country and gone to seek safety in the missions of Sinaloa.

Indians, and started the Mission of Santa María Magdalena. (Bancroft, *Nor. Mexican States*, 247.) This mission was burned by the Indians in 1695. With him was associated Father Nicolas de Prado, who reached here in April, 1676. In June they journeyed into the Chínipa Indian country, where Prado remained, gathering the Indians into a settlement known as Santa Inez de las Chínipas.

[32] Alegre says that, at the time of Salvatierra's visit, Father Fernando Pecoro, assisted by Father Nicolas de Prado, had established three villages in the Sierra Madre, and had baptized more than 4000 converts. These missions were Santa Inez de los Chínipas, Santa Teresa, and Santa María Magdalena in N. E. Sinaloa. (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, p. 25.)

At the end of forty years, through the untiring industry and apostolic fervor of Fathers Alvaro Flores, Joseph de Tápia, Fernando Pecoro, and Nicolas de Prado, the Chínipas had returned to their former haunts, and through the example and the fervent entreaties of the aforesaid Fathers, the Guazaparis, Varahios, Temoris and other Tarahumares Indians, together with several tribes from the upper Sierras, came back to the Catholic faith. It seemed wise to separate them into several missions and pueblos, and this fact made it necessary to have new workers to labor in the vineyards of the Lord.

It was at this juncture that Father Juan María arrived at the mission of Santa Inez de los Chínipas, where, as we have said, Father Nicolas de Prado had charge of the missions and where Father Juan María de Salvatierra began to learn the Indian language, so that he could preach with confidence and be able to teach and instruct the Indians in the mysteries of Our Holy Faith and in the duties of a Christian.[33] As the first fruits of his apostolate God paved the way for the conversion of an aged idolater, a fierce and obstinate old heathen, who for a number of years had repulsed the overtures made by the Fathers when they attempted to persuade him to join the Catholic ranks. Father Juan María, however, took the matter of his conversion very much to heart, first commending the favorable outcome to God with fervent and continuous prayers. Then, after treating the obstinate old fellow with marks of affection and great kindliness, he finally succeeded in converting him, and after he had finally instructed him in the catechism, he gave him Holy Baptism. It was

[33] This was in 1680. See Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, p. 25.

not long before death claimed him and he departed this life, leaving behind him assurances of his eternal salvation.

13: FATHER JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA, WITH INFINITE LABOR, FOUNDS THE MISSIONS OF SANTA TERESA AND ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

Leaving the mission of Santa Inez de los Chínipas, Father Juan María started out, obedient to his instructions, to found a new mission for the heathen Guazaparis.[84] This he had been directed to locate in a sandy valley, where the only inhabitants were a tribe of savage Indians, who were so wild that they dug underground caves where they slept at night. Upon arriving in this valley, the Father at once erected a bower to be used as a church, placing in it his altar, which had for its sole adornment or decoration nothing more than a paper print of Santa Teresa, which he had carried from Mexico City. Here, with this one small image, he said mass, assisted by a youth, who had been lent him by a missionary for this purpose and also to act as interpreter, since this youth was familiar both with his native language and the Castilian tongue. Using only a small hatchet he had brought over from Genoa, – for he surmised it was a tool which would render him excellent service when he was among the

[84] Salvatierra left here, reached the Jerocavi country in 1680 and returned to Santa Teresa in 1681. (Alegre, *Historia*, iii, 261.) According to this same historian, within a few days he had baptized 70 adults, in his eagerness to extend the Faith. He was equally successful with another tribe, the Varones, who came in numbers for baptism ,but refrained from giving baptism to many after he received a letter from his rector warning him of their treachery. He accordingly confined his attentions, for the time being, to building up the Mission of Santa Teresa.

heathen – he next built a small hut, thatched with straw, for a shelter.

This marks the beginning of the mission of Santa Teresa de los Guazaparis, which today is one of the finest missions in the province of Sinaloa; the fruit of the arduous toil and labor expended by Father Juan María in its foundation. One of the severest of his trials and tribulations was the way he was ostracized by the Indians. For these Gentiles, when they heard he was coming to the valley, sent some forty or fifty Indians to meet him, who, while they did not appear unfriendly, yet had retained nevertheless all the traditions of barbarism, seeming rather more warlike than peaceful, inasmuch as they came without their women and children and were fully armed, all of which served to indicate that they were indignant and displeased over his arrival. When night fell and Father Juan María retired to the humble shelter he had built that day, the Indians threw themselves down to sleep on the sand close to the hut. Now while they were resting, Father Juan María thought he would begin the mission auspiciously by giving himself, in the way of penance, some severe discipline. When they heard the sound of constantly repeated blows, the Indians, mystified and terror-stricken by these strange noises, all fled, leaving the Father alone in his little dwelling.

When he found, on the following day, that he had been deserted, Father Juan María did not leave a stone unturned to find them, but without success. For if, by chance he ran across an Indian, no amount of friendly signs nor the offer of gifts could make him approach the Father, for he glided away at the top of his speed from this kindly soul, who was searching for him in a

spirit of love and affection. Great was the grief of the Father when he saw how the Indians feared and shunned him, and he tried to believe that this was God's punishment for the tenacious way in which, quite unceremoniously, he had tried to secure permission to spend his life among the heathen.

In very truth God wished him to understand that the conversion of these Gentiles could be accomplished only at the cost of much suffering, and to let him learn of how little importance is human endeavor, as providence arranged that the conversion of the Indians should be obtained by a means apparently quite out of proportion with the results. It appears, however, that the lad who accompanied the Father as interpreter went into the woods every day, and after assuring every Indian whom he met how much the Father loved him and desired only his welfare and salvation and that his only thoughts were those of an affectionate mother, he gradually won their confidence, so that first one, then another returned. When they found how cordially the Father welcomed them they were pacified, and their wild and uncouth ways finally disappeared.

After gaining their good-will by treating them kindly, he asked them to help him build a church where he could teach them how to be Christians, hold mass, and administer the Holy Sacrament. At this request they volunteered their services gladly, and with the Father's assistance built a church and a house for the Father to live in. Since he had now a large following of Indians he separated them into three groups, to which he added new recruits daily, all of whom he instructed in the mysteries of Our Holy Faith and in the teachings of Christianity. One and all he baptized with his own

hands; he also taught them how to live sanely and wisely and well. And so strongly was the Holy doctrine taught by Father Juan María instilled in the hearts of these mountaineers, that they remained constant and steadfast in spite of the assaults and bad examples of other tribes, who instigated by the devil, tormented them.

This is best known from the uprising which occurred in the Tarahumares region in the year 1697, while Father Juan María was stopping at Sinaloa on his way to the conquest of California.[35] In one letter, in which he refers to his children, the mountaineers of Tarahumares, he speaks in this fashion:

> Our children from the mountains held so steadfastly to their faith that, when they saw it was threatened by rivals, seven hundred warriors went into the enemy's territory; and, upon arriving at a strongly fortified rock belonging to the enemy, killed a number of people and captured some cattle. All this was done by the Indians themselves, and without our aid, for the Spaniards did not accompany them. In the encounter, which lasted until nightfall, eight of our young men died, a very small number in proportion to the loss sustained by the enemy. All went into battle with the rosary around their necks, and the Fathers noted that no one was wounded above the waist, a fact on which all the Indians commented and which served greatly to increase their affection for the rosary. Furthermore the parents of those who died considered it a great honor to have had some of their family die in the defense of the Holy Faith.

Such was the heroism and constancy of these new Christians, referred to by Father Juan María in his letter, and which came from the pious education with which the Father had raised them from the beginning, and which had caused them to remain loyal to their adopted faith. Five or six years were spent by Father

[35] This was what prevented Kino from accompanying Salvatierra to the peninsula.

MISSION LORETO

Present day view of the ruins of the first mission on the peninsula

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Juan María in the founding of this mission, and when he finally saw that it was in good running order and that the political government of these new Christians was firmly established, his fervent zeal would not permit him to remain satisfied with this achievement but, after begging and being granted permission, he went on to found another remote mission among the more barbarous Indians, who had even greater need of assistance. To this he gave the name of St. Francis Xavier of Ceroahui, which he founded with the same infinite care and labor that the first had cost him.[36] Assisting him in building the church and houses were his old friends the Guazaparis who, since he had treated them in so kindly a manner, were happy to aid him; and he rejoiced greatly when he saw that the faith was now firmly planted among heathen Indians who had at first appeared so rebellious and so averse to heeding the sermons of this Holy Teacher.

At the start these new Indians displayed a very surly spirit, but the zealous Father succeeded in winning them over by employing tact and kindliness. To accomplish this he went out every morning to visit them in the underground caves where they slept, and looking in at the entrance, spoke to them in his most friendly manner. But being naturally wild and barbarous, they asked angrily, "What do you want here?" "I want," said the Father, "to see you and to be your friend." Then they answered rudely, "Go away from here, go away from our country." Father Juan María, however, was not discouraged by this coldness and discourtesy; and by his amiable and kindly behavior, finally won their confi-

[36] On the Sonora river in Sonora.

dence and established among them a firm, politic and rational Christianity.

Seeing that these Indians were now in a tractable mood, and that he had a large number of converts, he wished in his enthusiasm to inaugurate the custom, which was followed in the other missions, that when any failed to come to mass on feast-days, and when any did not come to attend the explanation of the Christian doctrine, the Father should punish himself with lashes. But the Indians, who were not accustomed to the idea of chastisement and humility, upon hearing this asked soberly yet boldly, "Why should the Father receive blows when we ought to be whipped?" The zealous and very humble Father did not lose this chance of impressing upon the Indians the sense of humiliation, with a steadfastness very like that shown, under similar circumstances, by Don Fernando Cortés, the notable conqueror of New Spain who, on a fiesta-day when all the congregation had assembled in the church for mass, ordered the official in charge to give him some blows with a whip, such as should be given one who failed to attend mass. The Indians were speechless at this unforseen and unheard of spectacle, and would not permit him to give another demonstration, but in the future all offered themselves with due humility for punishment, considering it to be richly deserved by one who failed to attend mass, and the Christian doctrine.

The hardships, hunger, and poverty suffered by the Venerable Father while establishing these missions are indescribable. A large part of the time he had nothing to eat but a meal made by the Indians from roasted corn, called in the Province *Pinole*.[37] And there came a

[37] *Pinole*, maize boiled with jerked meat or vegetables.

time when, as he had nothing to appease the hunger that seized him, he skilfully managed to catch rats and ate them roasted; and he said afterwards that they tasted very well, since the sauce and zest of hunger all seasoned them. And when by begging he procured some jerked meat, he then considered he had fared splendidly. He had another experience when a cook with more kindliness than intelligence who was versed in making and seasoning sauces and who wished to regale the Father with a good stew, in place of butter and spices which were not at hand, put in a goodly portion of tallow. The Father ate it, but to his sorrow, for he felt severe pains and extraordinary disturbances in his stomach, and his only remedy was to vomit. Because of the ill-treatment he gave his stomach, he finally lost his sense of taste, and could not distinguish whether what he was eating was sweet or bitter, meat or fish. This our same Father afterwards confessed, when, as Rector of the novices at Tepotzotlan, he chanced to hear some complaints that the food which was served the community was badly seasoned, and replied that he had not been able to perceive it, for he could not recognize seasonings. For this reason, he commissioned the Father Minister of the College to take special pains that in spite of the religious poverty the meals of the community should be properly seasoned.

14: THE FATHER PROVINCIAL APPOINTS HIM VISITADOR TO THE MISSIONS OF SONORA AND SINALOA, AND ORDERS HIM TO BE "PROFESSED OF THE FOUR VOWS"

For ten years Father Juan María had worked, with tireless energy, to found and establish the two missions,

Santa Teresa and San Francisco Xavier de los Guazaparis; then, just as he was thinking of journeying on further to locate a new mission, he received from the Father Provincial an order which appointed him Visitor of the missions of Sinaloa, Sonora, and a few scattered settlements, which were at that time under a single Visitor, although later, when more missions were erected, the number of Visitors was correspondingly increased.[38] The carrying out of this order would, the fervent Father felt, offer a far broader field for promoting the spiritual welfare of the Indians, since he would have the opportunity, in his official capacity, to improve those missions already established as well as make it possible for him to found additional ones. Together with the patent of visitor came the order, from our Father-general, directing him to profess the Four Vows.

When he learned of this, his first act was to retire and offer, both for the one and the other, fervent and devout prayers, adding to the customary ones many devout utterances and penitences.

During this visit the Father had his first experience with an uprising of the Pima and Tarahumares Indians, which occurred the week after Holy Week in the year 1690.[39] In this his life would have been placed in grave danger, had the apostates who were hiding in the

[38] Salvatierra was named visitador early in 1690 (see Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 72) at a time when the outlying tribes were distinctly hostile toward the Jesuits. He immediately went out among them and, by his kindly treatment, won them over, even conciliating the neophytes of the upper Tarahumara country. This was a crucial time for the missions, as many in Mexico City doubted the wisdom of attempting to Christianize these heathen, and extending the chain of missions.

[39] The Pimas lived in the valleys of the Gila and Salt rivers in South Arizona. Hodge, *Handbook of Am. Indians*, vol. ii, 692.

Chínipas rectorate, told where he was staying. For at their hands perished Father Juan Ortiz Foronda and Father Manuel Sanchez; the former of the Province of Toledo, the latter from Andalusia, both of whom had come over from Europe on the same mission with Father Salvatierra.[40] Father Foronda had carried on a glorious work preaching and establishing the faith among the Indians in the mission and Pueblo of Yepomera until he was attacked by rebel renegades. After being wounded by a number of poisoned arrows, he gave up his spirit to God, while imploring his Lord, in the words of Saint Stephen to forgive his enemies.

Father Manuel had gone to hold a revival during Lent in the camp of San Nicolas, where he had confessed and given communion to the miners and traders who happened to be in that camp during Holy Week. He was returning home, accompanied by Captain Don Manuel Clavera, to his mission at Tutuaca, when they received word, while on the road, of the uprising of the Pimas of Maicova and the Moris. And although the Captain urged Father Sanchez to return to the camp, the zealous Father insisted it was not right to abandon to the enemy the ornaments and sacred objects of his church at Tutuaca. A short distance beyond, between Yecora and Tutuaca, they were suddenly attacked by hostile Indians, and both being wounded by many arrows gave up their lives in the defense of the Catholic faith, Father Sanchez with his last breath reproaching them for their apostacy, and saying that he pardoned them, and would always beg God to forgive them.

Here is a fact well worth pondering over; Father Sanchez in passing the mission where Father Juan

[40]See footnote 29.

María was staying asked for the loan of some spurs to use on the journey. Father Juan María replied that he would lend him the only pair he had, on condition that he would return them. To this Father Sanchez, – we do not know with what words of prophecy, – replied: "Your Reverence, depend on it, I shall return your spurs to you, and I shall not lose them." After the rebellious Indians had fled and retired to their mountain peaks and shelters, Father Juan María, fearing the Spanish soldiers would exact vengeance for the death of the Father, started out on his round of visits among the very Tarahumares who had revolted, and although the Captain of the presidio urged him, owing to the grave danger in which his life was placed, to take an escort of soldiers, the Father would not consent, explaining that his purpose was to calm and conciliate the rebels by affectionate and kindly treatment which could not be accomplished if the Indians were intimidated by a convoy of soldiers.

So he began his journey accompanied only by some friendly Indians, who would not irritate the rebels. When he reached their pueblos the Indians at first withdrew, fearing punishment, yet when they saw the Father Visitor did not have with him any of the appurtenances of war their fear vanished, and they came out to greet him in a friendly manner, carrying arches and bowers of leaves and flowers, just as if there had been no uprising. Such is the power of mildness, kindness and humility, even among those who are more like brutes than rational beings. Then, after the Father had showed them every attention, he promised he would obtain pardon for them from the Provincial Governor, on the understanding that they would promise to reform.

From this point he passed on to inspect the houses where the departed Fathers had lived, in order to remove any trinkets, books, papers and sacred ornaments they had cherished. But nothing was to be found, for whatever the rebels had not been able to carry away they had burned, leaving nothing behind but ashes. While there, an Indian appeared and placed in the Father's hands some spurs, which, being made of iron, had not been consumed by the flames. He immediately recognized them as his own, and was deeply affected when he recalled with what assurance the blessed martyr, Father Manuel Sanchez, had promised him when he borrowed them, that he would not lose them. From this time on the Father kept them constantly with him until his death at Gaudalajara; when, since they had the two-fold recommendation of having been one of his treasures, and having been used by one of Christ's martyrs, they were given to a man of prominence, who begged very insistently for something to remember him by and to preserve as a relic. Notwithstanding, Father Jayme Bravo, in his account of Father Juan María, refers to this episode as if it had happened to Father Francis Xavier Saeta, who passed away four years later, killed by the arrows of the Pima Indians at the mission of Caborca. The tale, no doubt, has suffered in the telling, for Father Saeta reached the Pima missions in the middle of October 1694, – according to the records in the history written by Father Francisco Eusebio Kino, who welcomed him there, and accompanied him to his mission, – and in the following year '95, on a Holy Saturday, the Second of April, the death of this same Father Saeta took place. While he was at the missions, where he finally died, Father Juan María was not Visi-

tor of the missions, being at the time Rector of the College of Guadalajara, and so could not have lent him the spurs, nor have recovered them later, since he had them with him at that time.[41]

Now that the uprising of the Tarahumares had been quieted, and the restless and troublesome Indians pacified by careful handling and kindly treatment, Father Juan María journeyed on to visit the Sonora and Pimería missions.[42] Upon arriving at the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where Father Francisco Eusebio Kino was living, he remained there several days, gathering invaluable information about the missions. Then, taking Father Kino with him for company, he continued his round of visits, trying throughout his journey to find out what was actually true among the various and contradictory reports which had been forwarded by numerous individuals to the Viceroy, as well as to the Father Provincial, both for and against these missions. Those especially who looked at the question from a distance thought they were a waste of labor, and

[41] For a further account of Saeta's activities see Bolton, *Memoir*, vol. i, p. 130-147.

[42] This journey is described by Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 73, who remarks that in the spring of 1691 Salvatierra and Kino went into Pimería and to Kino's mission of Dolores, going from there into the Pima country. The route lay through the Indian stations of Hymeris, Caborca, Tubutama, returning by way of Saric, Tucubabia and Cocospera where the Fathers separated, Salvatierra continuing on his round of mission visits.

See also Bolton, *Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, i, p. 117 ff. Bolton's version places the time of Salvatierra's arrival at Dolores as December 24th, 1690. Throughout 1691, Kino and Salvatierra made their round of visits going from Dolores to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, San Joseph de los Himires, San Ignacio, Santa María Magdalena and Tupo, San Pedro de Tubutama, El Saric and Tucubabia. From here they were induced to go on further by some Indians who came from Tumagacori, the country of the Sobaipuris Indians, where they baptized many Indians, returning finally to Cocospera the end of January. Salvatierra, after charging Kino to christianize the Sobaipuris and Sobas, returned to his own mission of Chínipas.

that what few priests there were could be used to better advantage in improving the missions already established. But those who considered it at close hand, and who experienced the fruit that the Father missionaries obtained with their toil and labors, persisted not only in approving of them, but begged gently that Mexico should provide new workers both to improve the missions already founded, and adopt measures to found additional ones.

Father Juan María coincided with the opinion of the latter, for after he had visited the missions already founded, he went on still further to inspect other rancherias belonging to the Gentiles. There he found many who desired and were seeking Holy Baptism, since they carried their children to the Father to be baptized and implored him to send out missionary Fathers who could teach them God's Holy Law. Upon seeing how much spiritual fruit such lands, properly cultivated, would yield, not only did he testify that his informants, who had criticized the enterprise, were overhasty, but he unreservedly endorsed those in favor of it. At the conclusion of his visit he said with great assurance to his companion, Father Kino: "I feel convinced, Your Reverence, that it is inadvisable to recall any of the Four Fathers already appointed to Pimería; on the contrary, I think many more should be sent." And this afterwards happened.

Upon concluding his visit to the Sonora missions, he journeyed on to visit those in Sinaloa, leaving all greatly refreshed by the beneficent influence of his saintly zeal and ardor. The Father missionaries, furthermore, were left consoled and very grateful for the kind and considerate treatment shown them by the Father Visitor,

and reinspired to labor in this new Christianity. To the Father Provincial he sent word of all that had happened during his journey, laying emphasis on the vast numbers of new souls they might hope to save in the future.

When in the company of Father Francisco Eusebio Kino on this round of visits, Father Juan María began to experience a yearning to convert and bring California under Our Holy Faith. Now ten years earlier the aforesaid Father Kino, together with Father Juan Bautista Copart, and Father Mathias Goñi, and accompanied by Don Isidro Atondo, who had charge of the expedition, had entered California, and speaking with the authority of an eye-witness, described all that happened in the expedition, how many souls ready for conversion he had found there, and how many obstacles the devil had placed in their way to discourage them.[43] This information Father Juan María passed on to the Father Provincial, representing to him how easily California could be conquered without the use of arms or soldiers; for, from what he could learn, the various expeditions sent out in years past, at immense expense to the royal coffers, had accomplished virtually nothing, since they had eyes only for the valuable pearls, which abounded in Californian waters. For this reason he begged the Father Provincial's consent to penetrate into this unknown land, and he presented plans whereby this end could be accomplished without having to employ arms. But, in place of the permission he sought for, he was sent the patent of Rector of the College of Guadalajara,

[43] This refers to the attempt made in 1683 under the auspices of the Crown to found a settlement in California. See Bolton, *Memoir*, vol. i, 39 f. Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 43.

which carried the seal of the new Governor, and which was dated January, 1693.

15: HE ENTERS UPON HIS DUTIES AS RECTOR OF THE COLLEGE AT GUADALAJARA AND BEGINS TO LAY HIS PLANS FOR THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

Now that the inspection of the missions was completed, he decided to go to Mexico City and beg the necessary permission to enter California, planning, in case this was not granted, to return to his old missions, enlarge them, and bend all his energies to converting the Gentiles. Then, just as he was enthusiastically making these plans, the office was given him, by Our Father-General, of Rector of the College of Guadalajara. Since, in his opinion, this position would greatly hinder and retard the execution of his cherished design, he wrote in great distress to Our Father Provincial, Diego de Almonazir, in order that, his reasons having been considered by the Father Councillors, he might see fit to admit the reasonableness of his attitude in the matter. The Father Provincial and his Council, however, did not consider it wise to grant this request, whereupon Father Juan María started at once for Guadalajara, entering it after night fall, to avoid any homage which might be paid him upon his arrival. Ringing the bell at the porter's lodge, he refused to give his name, merely saying he was a Father, who had come from the missions.

Yet, within a very short time his remarkable sancity became known throughout the city, and from the first he aimed to conciliate all, trying to keep those in high-

est authority, such as the Royal Audiencia and other citizens, friendly toward what he hoped to accomplish for the glory and service of God, and in particular to the object of his earnest desires – the conquest of California. And all promptly offered to favor and assist him in everything, even in what related to California, although they realized how often this venture had been a failure in times past and they had no hopes of its realization. Now when he learned the Superiors of the College would not sanction his project, he wrote to Our Father-general Tirso Gonźalez, and requested his permission and consent to enter California, feeling certain that if this were obtained, he could readily gain the approval of the Viceroy of New Spain.[44]

In the interim, until permission should arrive from Rome, he directed all his energies toward the able management of his College, trying especially to preserve among his subordinates perfect peace and brotherly kindliness, at the same time punctiliously observing the rules, and seeing that each one applied himself properly to his own duties and calling. Example being the most efficient teacher, he was the first to fulfill all religious observances, and when the occasion arose he took great pleasure in taking the place of his subordinates in their tasks and occupations. Many times he went out to hear confessions at the request of those outside who were ill, and not a few times, when there was no Brother at home, he acted as companion to the Father

[44] Father-general Tirso Gonźalez de Santaella was general of the Jesuits from July 6, 1687, to October 27, 1705. Venegas in his *A Natural and Civil Hist. of California*, vol. i, p. 221, attributes his interest and sympathy for Salvatierra's project to the fact that he had been a pioneer missionary among the Moors and was keenly interested in the new field offered by California.

who had been summoned. At other times he occupied himself with sweeping out the corridors and offices of the house; but when his subordinates saw him at it they attempted to prevent him by arranging to do it themselves. Nevertheless Father Juan María, unwilling to forego the merit which came from these acts of humility, merely carried on this work when all were out of the house, in this way preventing any interference.

When caring for the sick he was extremely careful to see that they should not lack anything which would contribute to their comfort and recovery. He paid them frequent visits, personally arranging their beds, sweeping out their rooms, and removing and washing their soiled vessels; nor would he allow anyone else in the house to perform tasks of so humble and menial a nature. In fact, one Father, who was teaching in the Theological College at the time, ventured to say he trembled to think of being ill, as he did not care to see his Superior employed in ministrations of the lowest and most menial character, properly belonging to a nurse or house-servant. Nor was he less vigilant in providing generously for all his subordinates, furnishing whatever was needed in the way of food, clothes and all incidentals necessary to human existence. Begging was not permitted, neither would he allow them to receive gifts from outsiders, even going so far in this that when one of the Fathers from the city begged permission to accept a white shirt his mother had sent him, he denied the request, saying that religion was his true Mother, and that she would provide him with whatever he needed. Then he sent and had a shirt made for him, at the same time telling him that whatever he wished he was to ask for, and he would receive it immediately,

and in order to spare his subordinates the embarrassment of having to ask for what they needed, he appointed a Brother Wardrobe-keeper, whose duties were to make the rounds of the rooms once a month, to see what each one needed, with the instructions that even though the candidates did not ask for anything, they were to be kept fully supplied.

Now it happened that a Father who had recently arrived at the College was badly in need of a cassock. The Brother wardrobe-keeper acting on his Rector's instructions, ordered a new one to be made, but this Father refused to accept it on the plea that, as he was a newcomer and had not served the College, the College should not supply him with a new cassock. Upon hearing these words, the Brother refrained from giving it to him; but, a few days later, Father Juan María became aware of the visitor's needs and severely reprimanded the Brother for his lack of care. The Brother excused himself on the grounds of what the strange Father had said, whereupon the Father, with a truly charitable affection for his own, reproved him in the following words, worthy of a true Superior of the Company:

> Tell me, my dear Brother, is not the Father already an inmate of the College, and our own Brother? Then if he needs clothing, why should he not have it now? Because in other colleges they have not made such provision, should we permit him to walk unclothed and indecent? Go and have new clothes made for him and give him everything he needs.

Quite similar was the kindness he showed toward the same Brother Wardrobe-keeper at the beginning of his Rectorship, when the Brother complained that the trousers he was wearing were of very heavy woolen material and because of the excessive warmth of the cli-

mate he could not endure them. He immediately offered some to be made of thin material, instructing him to lay aside the woolen ones he was wearing, as they would do for some poor person. The Brother did so, but the poor person for whom they were destined turned out to be our same Father Rector Juan María, who, being a lover of holy poverty, appropriated them for his own use. When at the end of eleven years he became Provincial, upon passing through Guadalajara he showed these to the Brother, mentioning how long and how well they had served him. The Brother could do no less than admire them, and feel ashamed, but the Father very graciously said: "Keep still, old man, don't misunderstand, and tell me, are not cloth trousers good enough for a Provincial?" Whereupon the Brother felt more ashamed than ever, and full of admiration for the Father.

With like instances of good humor he won and kept the admiration of the Fathers of the College to the end of his Rectorship. Upon his departure, he wished to give all his associates new cassocks, and so relieve his successor of this expense. But upon observing that the cloth kept on hand for this purpose was very rough and heavy, he did not wish the members of his house to be clothed in it; instead he bought for this purpose a very good cloth from Segovia. From the cloth he had on hand he had garments made for the servants in the College, and considering himself the servant of all he had made from this same cloth a cassock for himself. When the Fathers saw this, they asked him how he could endure such heavy cloth in so warm a climate. Then, without giving a direct reply to their question he answered playfully: "What's the matter! Does it not

seem right to your Reverence that your Rector should be clothed in a new garment, so that he should not go out with an indecent and ragged cassock like the one he had worn before?"

He was no less liberal and charitable toward the poor outside, whose ease and comfort he provided for as best he could, believing that the prayers of the poor were the most valuable asset of the College. At the beginning of his governorship, he instructed Brother Pelayo Vidal, who had charge of the commissary, to station himself daily at the main door where the poor gathered. Coming down one day to see how the food was dispensed the Father gave all the poor some coins, instructing them to lay before God a certain need of the College at this time. Upon noticing that Brother Pelayo was smiling, he said to him: "My Brother, always have supreme confidence in God, and remember that the pleas of the poor have great weight with Him." Thereupon he retired to his room, and at two in the afternoon the servant belonging to a gentleman in the city entered bringing, in his master's name, a large bar of silver, saying it was sent to help to meet the current needs of the College. The Father expressed great gratitude for the donation, and summoning Brother Pelayo showed him the silver, saying: "Look, my dear Brother, if you wish to know how the prayers of the poor are able to supply the needs of their benefactors."

Upon another occasion he found himself harassed by a creditor for 600 *pesos*, that the College owed him. Father Juan María did not have at his command more than 50 *pesos* for the running expense of the College; but he had a supreme confidence in God, and in the entreaties of the poor. He divided the 50 *pesos* among

them, and immediately afterward received a substantial donation from a prominent citizen, which he sent to him, and which corresponded exactly to the 600 *pesos* needed to discharge, as it did, the debt of the college. In the first year of his government, the wheat from the Toluquilla ranch belonging to the College was lost in such a manner that they had neither wheat nor seed with which to plant. Yet Father Juan María did not lose confidence in God, but begged the loan of forty loads of wheat from the nunnery of Santa María de Gracia, to be repaid at harvest time. This happening to be abundant, he repaid the forty loads of wheat he owed, and since the wheat in the city was sold at a very high figure, Father Juan María did a good turn to everyone in the vicinity, by selling the wheat at retail to the poor bakers' wives at a price much lower than the market one.

No doubt all this was the reward for his confidence in God, and for his charity in alleviating the needs of the poor, according to the testimony of the aforementioned Brother Pelayo Vidal, a resident of this province, and well-known for his great wisdom, rectitude, and religious ardour. This Brother, who was an instructor in the College of Guadalajara, likewise held the office of Procurator, and when Father Juan María, at the end of his governorship, handed over the College to his successor, it was necessary to balance the records of receipts and expenditures. It was believed that the College would be under heavy indebtedness because of the liberality with which the Father Rector aided those in distress without taking into consideration the needs of the members of the College. But it was found that not only was he not in debt, but that there was a surplus of 3000

pesos, 1500 of which Father Juan María used, as we have already mentioned, for clothing his charges, and in providing what the College needed in the way of provisions and clothing. The other 1500 *pesos* he left in silver to his successor, which is sufficient proof that God was pleased with Father Juan María's charity and generous liberality.

16: FATHER JUAN MARÍA BUILDS IN THE CHURCH OF OUR COLLEGE OF GUADALAJARA THE CHAPEL OF LORETO, AND DEVOTES HIMSELF EARNESTLY TO THE NEEDS OF THE COMPANY

The divine grace with which God aided Father Juan María in the worldly affairs of the College should not be attributed solely, as Father Juan said, to the prayers of the poor, but also to his vigilance in endeavoring to promote the worship of the Holy Virgin. What served greatly to encourage him was this message, which the Royal Lady in her image at Guadalupe had sent him through her devoted servant, Father Juan Bautista Zappa: *Cogita tu de me, et ego cogitabo de te* (Think of me, and I shall think of you.)

Thinking, then, of promoting the cult and worship of this great Queen of Heaven and Earth, he undertook to erect in our church at the College of Guadalajara, another house and chapel similar to the one he had built in our church of San Gregorio in Mexico City, using the same plan, sketch and measurements of the Angelical House and chapel which had been taken from Loreto in Italy.

This plan he refrained from putting into execution,

however, when he heard upon his arrival in Guadalajara that owing to lack of trade and the loss of large sums of money, due to hard times, the city was in a state of extreme poverty. Therefore it did not seem at all wise to beg alms from those who were more in need of receiving than of giving them. Nevertheless, in order to take some step toward the execution of his project, he summoned an Indian mason, who was considered an expert in the art of building economically and quickly, and unfolded to him his plans for building a shrine to the Holy Virgin of Guadalajara, modeled after the Holy House of Loreto, and at the same time telling him what prevented their execution. But the good Indian told him in reply – like the spokesman of God, by whom he was inspired – that from his own personal experience he knew that the attitude of their neighbors was one of extreme piety. In any undertaking to serve God and venerate his Holy Mother, they invariably cooperated with extreme pleasure and gave alms very generously and as much as they could afford, when they saw with their own eyes how worthy the object. He went on to say that all depended upon arousing enthusiasm in the beginning and not slackening after they had begun; this he thought would produce many more alms than had been originally thought necessary.

After hearing the Indian mason's opinion, Father Juan María felt greatly reassured, but for the time being he could not begin his labor since there was urgent need for him to go to Mexico City on pressing business on behalf of the College. Now all this was the plan of divine providence to enable him more quickly to carry on the construction of the Holy House, since the occasion of his visit afforded him fresh stimulus, which God

gave his spirit to overcome whatever obstacles might arise. After he had completed his business in Mexico City and was on his way to Guadalajara, he stopped at the City of Queretaro, where the Rector of Our College was Father Bernardo Rolándegui, one of Father Juan María's oldest and most dearly beloved companions at the Tarahumares missions, who welcomed him with the kindliness and benevolence that is customarily shown by the Company. On the first night, after he had been shown the room which had been prepared for him, and shortly after he had retired, Father Juan María felt the room shake. Believing it was caused by an earthquake, he arose quickly, put on his cassock and hurriedly sought shelter under the opening of the window. Scarcely had he reached this place of safety, when, without warning, the floor of his room caved in because, as he discovered later, the heads of the beams were rotten. Here, for his nearest neighbors had not heard the noise, nor had the destruction of the room attracted their attention, he spent the night. Dawn had already dawned and the watchman was making his rounds, when the Father called to him, telling him what had happened and requesting him to ask the Fathers to come and rescue him. This done, a plan was devised which enabled the Father to extricate himself from the ruins.

All the time while sheltered by the window he felt in his heart the constant displeasure of the Most Holy Virgin, because he had failed to commence her Holy House, and he was certain he heard her repeat to him many times these words: *Begin my house; since you have not done so, I have taken from you yours.* Greatly

perturbed, and determined to surmount whatever obstacles might arise, he left Queretaro the day following and, with as much speed as possible, hurried to Guadalajara. There, without losing a moment, he summoned his good comrade, the Indian mason, and showing him the measurements and model of the house he wished to build, told him to come on the following Saturday to mark out the site and commence to lay the foundations. Great was the joy and gratification when Father Juan María selected as workmen on the first day the children from the school, for it seemed most appropriate for the first workers on the Holy House of the Queen of the Angels, to be those who, because of their fresh young innocence and purity of conduct, most closely resembled the Angels.

Saturday at length arriving, Father Juan María sallied forth with his band of angelic workmen, and after the master had marked off the measurements on the ground, the Father took a large hoe in his hand, the elder children theirs, and all began to lay the foundations for the framework of the house, while the younger children collected and removed the earth. Since they had made so auspicious a beginning on that day, no one put a hand to the work until the following Saturday, when the same children again gathered, as well as all the Fathers from the College, who, touched by the admirable example set them by their Father Rector, wished to assist him in so devout an undertaking, and continued the work of digging the foundations and removing the soil. Since, during the week, the news of this had spread throughout the city, they were joined in this task by many nobles, who had heard of the un-

dertaking, and wished to have a share in so useful and devout a labor; while some of the city's richest citizens offered personally to defray all the expenses.

Father Juan María did not accept this liberal offer, however, since he was always firmly of the opinion, – which had governed the building of the Holy House of San Gregorio in Mexico City – that the Most Holy Virgin wished every one to contribute. And for this reason, he hoped all, rich and poor, aristocrat and plebeian, would assist with alms, so that the Holy Lady could distribute her favors impartially. From that day the work went steadily forward, for alms began to pour in, some of which were given without solicitation by the donors, while others the Father collected in the streets and received from the poor. Now it was a common occurrence to have the poor, carried away by the fervor of their devotion, give more than they could afford, whereupon the Father, thanking them for their great liberality, took a portion of what was offered, and returned the remainder so that their families should not be in need, thus giving charity to those who also gave it. They were never without funds to buy the necessary materials and to pay the workmen and day laborers, for whenever they were in dire need, help came most unexpectedly from where it was least expected, making it possible to finish the Holy House in a little over a year. Since a portion of the alms remained, the Father built a vaulted chapel, where the House, like some precious pearl, was placed as in a shell. Then he also endowed the music for the masses and *salves*, which were sung on Saturdays through the year.

When the House and Chapel were completed, Father Juan María arranged for its dedication, setting aside

Our Lady of Loreto

Photograph of the original image brought to Baja California by Salvatierra in 1697

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November 25th, 1695. On the afternoon of this day, the image of the Holy Queen of Loreto was carried in solemn procession, while vespers were sung with excellent music. The day following, a Saturday dedicated to the marriage of the Most Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph, mass was held, with music and a sermon. In the congregation were the most prominent members of the nobility, and the audience had so increased in size that neither the chapel nor the spacious premises belonging to the church could hold them; but most remarkable of all was the fact that the communions, held by the devotees of the Great Lady in celebration of this festival, were without number.

Although Father Juan María was devoutly occupied and righteously employed in attempting to benefit the City of Guadalajara by erecting the Holy House of Loreto, he did not neglect effecting improvements in the apostolic labors of our institution. Every Saturday evening, when there was a large audience, a chorus sang the "Rosary," and afterwards the litany to the Virgin; then he delivered an inspiring sermon, in which he endeavored to instill in the hearts of his congregation, a warm devotion for the Royal Queen, which he concluded by some example that illustrated his point.

In the three years of his administration not only was he Superior of the College, but at the same time he filled the role of a zealous and tireless worker, now instructing the untutored with dissertations on the Christian doctrine, which he delivered in an impromptu manner in the streets and squares of the city, now repairing to the prisons and hospitals, where he confessed all who so desired and gave aid in the shape of alms, with urgent pleas adjuring all to be patient

under the hardships they were suffering, and to lead the lives of Christians. He was in constant demand for confessions as well, and many of the most prominent citizens selected him as the priest and guardian of their souls.

Among other memorable activities was his zealous service as angel of peace, in publicly reconciling the President of Guadalajara and the Royal Audiencia, with the Most Illustrious and Venerable Bishop, Don Juan de Santiago Leon Garabite, between whom there had been some differences over questions of jurisdiction, the Bishop upholding the dignity and rights of the bishopric; the President and Judges, that of the Royal crown. Now by chance the most illustrious prelate, who had been the victim of a serious accident which the doctors pronounced fatal, and had been given the final sacraments, was in the sanctuary of Tezapopan, a league beyond the city. When Father Juan María learned of this he went to visit him, and did not find in the venerable prelate any obstacle unfavorable to a reconciliation, since he affirmed he had merely tried, with as much moderation as possible, to protect the rights and powers of the bishopric. With the prelate's approval, he went to interview the President and Judges, who, softened by Father Juan María's arguments, at once gave way, saying they would leave the decision over past controversies to the King, Our Lord, and his Royal Council of the Indies. At the same time they gave their consent to his return to the sanctuary to visit the most illustrious person, in order to assure him that, for their part, they bore him no ill-feeling, but were simply upholding what the dignity of their office required. Accompanied by these gentlemen, Father

Juan María hastened to return, and upon his arrival conducted them to the sick-room of the invalid, the most illustrious prelate. There, after expressing sorrow for his unfortunate accident, they begged his forgiveness for any past misunderstandings, which might have caused him to be offended, explaining they had only intended, as the King's ministers, to guard the rights of the crown. The Bishop, on his part, also offered explanations. Then in token of true friendship they embraced, to the immense edification and satisfaction of all present, and even the entire city. Then, after giving the final sacraments, Father Juan María continued to remain by his bedside, supporting him to the end with fervent exhortations, until very tranquilly he gave up his soul to the Lord, the middle of July, 1694.

17: FATHER JUAN MARÍA IS SENT TO TEPOTZOTLAN TO ACT AS RECTOR AND TEACHER OF THE NOVICES

Before Father Juan María had completed the term of his rectorship at Guadalajara he received a letter from our Father-general, Tirso Gonźalez, in reply to his request to be allowed to enter California, praising his holy zeal, and greatly encouraging him in this glorious undertaking. It concluded by saying that, although he was sending him an appointment as Rector of the novices at the College of Tepotzotlan for the three ensuing years, nevertheless if he found a way to carry out his project with an escort of soldiers, he would grant him permission, in which case the Provincial would release him from his duties as Rector. After the new régime had been ushered in, January 8, 1696, Father

Juan María at once made every possible effort to put into effect his plan of entering California, but he met with determined opposition on the part of the Father Provincial and his advisers. Particularly was this the case with His Excellency Señor Conde de Gálvez, at that time Viceroy of New Spain, who said that he had received new royal orders whereby His Majesty ordered suspended and definitely prohibited, for the time being, anything bearing on the conquest of California. Hoping for a better opportunity in the future, the Father resolved, upon hearing this, to comply with his orders and accept the commission of Rector and Master of the Novices.

As soon as he was established in office he applied himself diligently to bringing up his novices to be both saintly, for the greater glory of the Faith, and to be apostles for the conversion of the entire world. He was convinced that the Novitiate should be a school of all the virtues; and that only such religious perfection as was well-grounded in the novitiate was preserved and augmented in the future. Throughout the year he held office Father Juan María invariably gave his novices two sermons a week, one on the love they should have for Jesus, the other, on what they owed their Most Holy Mother. In these two points he embodied all the instructions he gave them concerning the precise and exact compliance with the Vows and Rules, the enthusiasm which all Jesuits should feel for the salvation of souls, brotherly charity, profound humility, mortification and abnegation of self, fervent prayer, and all other virtues of the chosen Faith, which he said should be exercised with ardent eagerness, from love of Jesus and Mary. Then to incite them to greater love and

affection for the Great Lady, he revived in the Novitiate the devotional known as The flowers of Mary, which his saintly companion, Father Juan Bautista Zappa had inaugurated when he was minister of this college and which in the course of time had, in some way, been abandoned. Father Juan María encouraged this observance by his words and exhortations, prior to the festival of Our Lady, and by suggesting the most feasible marks of esteem that might be offered during those days. He encouraged it by example as well, taking part in this devotional with his slip of paper which bore no signature, and which he laid by the shrine along with the others, although the novices thoroughly understood from whom the slip came, since it contained very special observances and unusual penitences.

When the day sacred to the Virgin arrived, on which were read in public the offerings which each one had presented, in spite of the fact that it was not a holiday, he gave them some little present in the afternoon and granted them an hour's recreation in the orchard. This was the greatest pleasure the novices had at the time, one which they were also allowed on school holidays. Then he took them into the country to talk about the admirable qualities of the Most Holy Virgin, revealing by the animation of his face the fire that burned in his heart. Such was the fervor with which he spoke of the virtues of the Great Queen that the novices were led to believe that he had intimate communication with the Great Lady. In this belief they were confirmed by the following incident. In Father Juan María's room slept an Indian servant whom he had brought from the missions; and, when the novices saw the great affection he lavished on the Father Rector, one holiday they asked

him, "Why do you like him so much?" To this the unsophisticated youth replied: "Because he is a saint." "And how," argued the novices, "do you know he is a saint?" "Because" the boy replied, "The Virgin Mary speaks to him at night." Whereupon they were certain that, because of this Indian's innocence, the Royal Lady allowed him to share the honor she conferred on his beloved master, by making it possible for him to hear her voice when she spoke to him.

Knowing that example is extremely efficacious for the practise of virtue, Father Juan María was the first to share in the community labors; and while engaged in these mortifications he was in the habit of washing the kitchen utensils, carrying the pot of stew from the doorkeeper to the poor, confessing his faults in the refectory, begging alms for his dinner, eating on his knees, and sinking on the floor and prostrating himself at the refectory door, so that he might be trampled on by all. And lest all these mortifications might lose their merit and become nothing more than custom, he explained to his novices the attitude of mind and true sincerity of purpose with which they should be performed.

When his novices were ill he was not satisfied with frequently visiting them, comforting them and making them happy with his spiritual conversation, and enjoining them to have patience and conform with the divine will, but he also did the work of a nurse, made the beds, swept out the rooms and even removed soiled vessels, scoured them and returned them clean to the rooms. Upon one occasion he happened to go out with his novices into the country, when suddenly they were caught in a heavy shower and all were well soaked

when they reached the College. Here the famous kindliness of their Rector was again displayed. He ordered everyone to disrobe immediately and go to bed; and, while their suppers were being brought to them, he had their cassocks and coats put out in the air to dry. He requested that in the morning, even when the community bell rang, no one should rise until he had given notice. When morning came, he went to all the rooms, took their shoes and wet stockings away in a basket, carried them to the kitchen, dried them by the fire, then returned to each what he had taken away and bade them get up to follow the ordinary routine.

By such attentions as these he gained the good-will of his novices, so that they loved him more than if he had been their own Mother, and he could do whatever he wished with them to inspire them in virtuous behavior. The affection and kindliness with which he treated them encouraged them to confide to him their temptations, and to communicate to him their doubts and perplexities; and they left his presence happy because of the gentleness of his sympathy, and deeply inspired by his words of wisdom.

To this affectionate and kindly consideration he united a rare judgment, which warned him against those wholly immoderate people who oppose virtue which consists in moderation. For this reason he would not consent to extraordinary displays in public, which for the undisciplined are apt to furnish more noise than benefit, and which bring grave danger of vainglory. What he aimed at was to have his novices perform all their ordinary tasks and duties with eager diligence, practising in all things, even in those where they feel personally indifferent, that uprightness of purpose with

which alone they can please God. Nor did he display less prudence and discretion in being unwilling to sanction indiscreet outbursts of penitence, fasts, and other mortifications. He only granted his novices permission for these which sufficed to mortify the flesh, and subject it to the spirit, prohibiting what might be harmful to their health, warning them that they were not being educated in the novitiate for themselves alone but to work indefatigably later on for the welfare and salvation of souls; and that their greatest care should be to mortify their own will and spirit more than their bodies.

On one occasion when Father Juan María was serving in the refectory, – as was his custom every Saturday in reverence and adoration of the Most Holy Virgin, – he was about to give a novice a cup of rice and milk, which he regularly served to the community on this day; when the novice would not accept it, saying he had permission to refuse it every Saturday. Thereupon the Father ordered him to take two cups and consume them both, deeming obedience and humiliation of the will of greater value than the sacrifice and mortification of the body.

The gift the Lord had bestowed upon his devoted servant, of understanding the feeling and penetrating to the very depths of the novices' hearts, contributed much to their education and excellent training. The result of this was that he talked with each according to his needs, at times revealing to them what was going on in the inmost secret recesses of their hearts. And after experiencing this they came to have a great reverence for the saintly teacher, and lost all fear and timidity of disclosing to him their most hidden thoughts, as to a man endowed with divine light, who read their hearts.

When a novice was very disconsolate and troubled by scruples and fears, or when his conscience bothered him, he longed to confide in his teacher, since it was customary in the Company to make a clean breast of each and every misgiving.

One Thursday evening when the novices were taking their recreation in the College garden, they encountered their Rector, who immediately called by name one of the novices who was troubled, and took him with him around the garden, talking to him very tenderly while calling his attention, in order to divert him, to the trees and flowers in the garden. Finally, when they were in a spot quite retired from the rest he said, "Come here, old man, – (which was what he playfully called his novices,) – Why have you not been to see me in my room since you are so perturbed? Now tell me, right here, what is distressing you?" And as the novice delayed explaining, the Father told him what was going on in his mind; and talked with him so sweetly that the novice felt quite at peace and consoled.

He conducted himself with this same delicacy and discretion toward those whom he discovered to be out of sympathy with their calling. Several times a certain novice had urged him to return him his garments so that he might abandon the Faith and enter the world, failing to be pacified by the holy and spiritual advice that the Father gave him. On one occasion he entered quite wrought up and determined not to leave the room until he was granted permission to return to the world. After hearing this devilish resolution the Father asked him to open the window and tell him what he saw in the field. He looked out and said he saw some oxen plowing the soil. Then with his customary graciousness

he remarked, "Now tell me, my old man, of what use is the ox if not to plow," And applying this saying to the case in hand he said gravely that as the ox is created to till the earth, and wherever he might go he would find yoke and plow and lands to till, so is it man's duty to work, and that, wherever he chose to go, he would only encounter with this necessity, but with this difference that religious labors are easy yokes and light burdens, while those of the world are heavier and harder to endure. And this was all that was needed to quiet and pacify the novice.

Upon another occasion a novice came to his room on a mission similar to that of his predecessor, asking resolutely for his clothing. The Father replied to him very mildly, requesting him to wait while he finished what he was doing, and in the meantime to read a chapter, any one that came to hand, in Thomas à Kempis's "Imitation of Christ." The novice read the chapter which opened accidentally, and with this lesson God soothed him, causing him to experience a sudden change of heart, for he found in this volume what he needed for his complete recovery. Then he remarked that now he realized that the spirit with which he had come into the room was obviously that of the devil tempting him, and thereafter he remained in the Company, to the great consolation of his soul.

18: HE AGAIN BEGS TO BE ALLOWED TO ENTER CALIFORNIA, AND FINALLY OBTAINS THE NECESSARY PERMISSION

Although Father Juan María was completely engrossed in the religious education of his novices, he

never forgot the California he loved and longed for; and all his prayers, penitences and good works were offered to God with this end in view; that His Majesty would deign to open a road for the conversion of those miserable souls who are submerged in the abyss of their errors and blind paganism. And for this purpose he also offered *flores* and *novenas* during the festivities of the most Holy Virgin, advising his novices likewise to offer theirs with this same objective – the conversion of the California Indians. He also found of great assistance at this time Señor Don Joseph de Miranda Villaisan, attorney of the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, who pointed out the great benefits to be derived from this undertaking by the kingdom of New Spain, to the Royal Audiencia, and also to the Viceroy of Mexico.[45] And so efficaciously and persuasively did the attorney do this, that it served in a large measure to overcome the many difficulties entailed by the venture.

At this time Father Provincial Juan de Palacios had gone out to pay a visit to the Colleges, which were located in what was called the back country. When he reached Tepotzotlan, Father Juan María disclosed to him his burning desire to undertake the conquest of California, and the easiest way in which it could be accomplished. But the Father Provincial, after weighing the matter, told him he could not grant permission without taking it up with the Father Councillors, all of whom he knew would oppose it. At this point Father Juan María had recourse to his usual refuge of praying for the intercession and patronage of the Lady of Lo-

[45] Miranda, too, had interceded with the viceroy in behalf of Salvatierra's venture. On July 17, 1696, he presented the case to the viceroy, declaring that a mission in California would be of material benefit as a base for pearl fisheries and a step toward future colonization. (Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, 90.)

reto and very speedily brought about the favorable outcome he desired, for in a few days the Father Provincial contracted a severe fever and pain in his side which put him in very grave danger of death. Feeling confident of Father Juan María's saintliness, he called him to his side and begged him to commend himself with all sincerity to the Great Lady, so that she might restore his health if it were best for him. The Father excused himself saying that, inasmuch as his Reverence had prevented him from entering California, he did not have the merit to approach the Holy Virgin and make this request. Then he declared emphatically that so long as he would not consider giving his permission, he could not hope to recover from these infirmities. He repeated this many times and with such assurance that he moved the Father Provincial to promise that should he regain his health, he would, on his part, do all he could to obtain the permission he so greatly desired.

Cheered by these promises, Father Juan María went down to the church at once, taking with him all his novices; and after they had offered up prayers in the Chapel and House of Loreto, he ordered the Sacred Image to be taken from its tabernacle and carried in procession, while litanies were sung, to the rooms of the Father Provincial. He devoutly requested the Great Lady to restore to him his health, and in this way fulfil the promise he had made to his Superior. And from that moment he began to feel her protection, while the fever gradually subsided until it completely left him. Because of this, he felt obliged to keep his word; and after he had recovered, he started for Mexico, taking Father Juan María with him to attend in person the

meeting he intended to hold concerning the matter of California.

However, after the Father Councillors, all of whom had firm opinions based on human prudence, had assembled, it was easy enough to see that they would not willingly give Father Juan María the permission he was seeking. So when the Father saw that the many arguments he put forth in his own favor were not sufficient to move them, he finally charged them with the many heathen souls they were leaving to the devil, since there was no one to lift them up with the light of the gospel, and the immense numbers of innocent ones who, from that day on, would die unbaptized in California. Yet, in spite of all this, the Father Councillors would not yield to his opinions, for they were entirely convinced of the unfeasibility of such an enterprise. So they ordered him to return to his College to carry on the duties which obedience imposed upon him.

Still the magnanimous heart and fervent zeal of Father Juan María were undismayed for he had fixed his hopes on aid from the Lady of Loreto, who was powerful enough to overcome such difficulties. He returned to his college at Tepotzotlan and increased his supplications and prayers, whereupon the Great Lady disclosed to him the efforts and exertions the devil was making to prevent this very glorious conquest. For three days the Father walked about like one out of his mind, completely dazed, his hair standing on end, the entire expression of his face altered, perspiring and almost trembling with horror, just as if he saw terrible and ghostly apparitions. Now when one of the Fathers met him in the garden of the College and saw how changed

he was, he inquired the cause, and whether it was anything pertaining to California. Like a man enraptured, and with turbulent voice he replied: "Yes, Father, all Hell is in arms, and all the road from here to Mexico City is undoubtedly filled with devils to impede this conquest. But they will not win, they will not win. St. Francis Xavier will conquer."

Furthermore, when the Brother Prefect of the Novitiate went into Father Juan María's room, before he could say a word, he ordered him to approach the window, and look out over the road that leads to Mexico City. Then he said: "Don't you see, Brother, how many devils there are between this and the Viceroy's palace?" And when the Brother replied he didn't see anything, the Father continued: "You must know, then, that they appear as in a haze and they are all doing their best to hinder me from passing into California. I must place more faith in the Lady; she will arrange all." Father Juan María had great confidence in this hope, for his holy companion, Father Juan Bautista Zappa, had written, during the later years of his life, exhorting him most earnestly to undertake the conquest of California, and not to forget to build there a saintly house to the Holy Lady of Loreto. It was not so much on account of what Father Zappa had said as because of this fact that, on the same day on which the Father died at the ranch of Xalmolonga, more than a hundred leagues from Guadalajara, where Father Juan María was Rector at the time, his comrade appeared before him and said farewell, as he was on his way to Heaven, in order that from that day on his desires should be more fervent, and his efforts more constant in striving for this most glorious conquest.

Nor were his hopes in vain, for three days after he had returned to his College he received a letter from the Father Provincial, calling him to Mexico City, as the Father Councillors, after reconsidering and weighing the arguments he had laid before them in the earlier session, had changed their minds, and were now convinced that they should grant him the permission he desired, upon this condition, that he raise sufficient alms to make the trip to California.[46] Then it was seen what happiness this felicitous message brought to this servant of God. He set forth without delay, arrived at Mexico City, and expressed his gratitude to the Father Provincial and the Father Councillors. And illumined, no doubt, by a light from Heaven, he held intimate communication and intercourse with Father Juan de Ugarte, who at the time was lecturing on philosophy in the Maximus College at Mexico City, so that he might assist in this holy undertaking, and assumed the duties of Proctor of this Apostolic mission. This post he held for several years, then later on went out as a second apostle, working gloriously for a period of thirty years in the conversion of these heathen.

After these two holy men had conferred as to the best means of carrying on so glorious a work, Father Juan María decided to go through the streets and to the houses in the city begging gifts, inasmuch as on this depended the execution of the undertaking, according to the conditions under which the Father Councillors had agreed to give their consent. On the first day he went out together with this same Father Ugarte, on the other days, with a brother assistant whom he had selected as his companion. During the first day, – God

[46] This provincial was Juan de Palacios.

and his Mother had desired that the mission should be founded in the ashes of mortification and humility, – no alms were bestowed, merely jeers and curses, while the Venerable Father was treated like a crazy man because he intended to prosecute with funds raised by alms, an enterprise, which, though subsidized with immense sums from the Royal Treasury over a period of years, had met with no success.

All this Father Juan María endured with consummate patience and without weakening, for he knew that even though God mortified and humiliated, he also lifted up and gave life to those who put their faith in him. And upon this occasion, exactly this thing happened. For when it seemed that human hope waned, God opened the way to alms where it was least expected. This is what happened. Two very rich gentlemen in Mexico, whom all looked upon as extremely close and tight-fisted, were moved by a divine impulse to offer a thousand *pesos*. At once rumors spread throughout the city, enveloping these alms with an air of mystery, unexpectedly spreading broadcast the story that without doubt the conquest was the work of God; which was just enough to incite many more to bring in huge gifts for this same purpose.

Entering one day to beg alms in the house of Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, Treasurer of the Casas Reales of Acapulco, to whom the Father up to that time was unknown, he had barely given an account of the object of his visit and the proposed journey for which he was asking alms, when the good gentleman got up from the chair in which he was sitting. He embraced the Father, and without speaking a word, made evident by his many tears his interest and joy at the news imparted to him,

as he was highly in favor of this plan. After he had somewhat recovered from this impetuous burst of affection, which had left him speechless, he remarked that all year he had most earnestly desired that the door should be opened for the conquest of California, which had so far met with failure. He went on to say that he had a small galleon in this port of Acapulco, called the Santa Elvira, which, although it was very old and dilapidated, the Viceroy had told him to get repaired so that it might serve at least another year. But before a hand had been put to the job, it was in such shape that it sank to the bottom of the sea inside the port. And although the officials of the realm disapproved, thinking it was a needless expense, nevertheless with a zealous and saintly resolution, and scarcely realizing what he was saying, he gave orders for the little galleon to be raised from the water, and fitted out, saying: "Go, take her out, and fit her up, for with her the Faith shall enter California."

When all of this happened, Don Pedro had not heard of Father Juan María's project; but so great was his pleasure when he learned of it that he promised to further his plans in every way possible, and he promised him the use of his little galliot, which by his personal diligence and efforts he was having rescued from the waters, overhauled, and made seaworthy so that she might serve to convey the provisions, together with whatever else might be needed, into California. In this capacity she served for many years. Now it is worth commenting upon, that, while the little galleon was in this service, she kept in excellent shape. However, after the death of Don Pedro, when the royal officials took her away and turned her over to those who were employed in searching for pearls, of her own accord she

sank to the bottom of the sea where she was of no further service.

In addition to the little galliot this very pious gentleman gave Father Juan María a large bark called the St. Fermin, and two lighter crafts, the larger called the St. Xavier, and the other, somewhat smaller, known as Nuestra Señora del Rosario. The value of the three boats and some jewels he gave, together with the assistance he rendered this California mission was placed at more than 25,000 *pesos*. In addition to this, out of his own pocket he defrayed the amount of the salary of one of Father Juan María's soldiers who accompanied him as escort. Inasmuch as the charitable and devout nature of this gentleman is well known, it does not seem right not to include a paragraph from one of his letters to Father Juan María dated October 14, 1698, which runs as follows: "I have not forgotten what I said to your Reverence when I gave you that last embrace: that I would beg alms for this enterprise. My one thought is to talk about California, its conversion, its development; there is nothing I would not do for this end; and I would sell my shirt if Your Reverence suggested it, or my conscience told me to do so. Oh, God! Oh, my Father! – Destroy the idols of the heathen. Long live Jesus and Mary, and may I assert this to the last extremity."

His deeds thoroughly demonstrated he did not value his life except to serve the Lord and his Mother in whatever related to so glorious a conquest. It is a fact he had not been in the habit of going down to the port of Acapulco, since its climate, which was notoriously bad, endangered his health; but, after the door was opened to the conversion of California, he arranged to

go down annually, even though it might cost him his life, to give what help was needed and to see to forwarding the food and other necessary articles from the port to California. This he continued to do for the next four years, nor was he prevented by the fact that each year he was sick unto death. Finally the fourth year, when taken sick as usual at Acapulco, he was brought to Mexico, but medicine failed to effect a cure, and he delivered up his soul happily to God.

Let us now return to Father Juan María, who in the space of one month gathered alms to the amount of 15,000 *pesos* in reals. In adition to this, he interested six benefactors, each of whom promised to give annually 300 *pesos* for a period of five years, which amounted to the grand total of 9,000 *pesos*. All this was only for initial expenses, but, since it was necessary to set aside a fixed sum to maintain the Fathers in California, God granted what was needed by the first two pioneer conquerors for their venture, through the liberality of the attorney Don Juan Caballero y Ocio, Priest and deputy for the Holy Inquisition, who was well-known through all this kingdom for his worthy deeds of charity in which he employed the fortune wherewith God had enriched him. He immediately offered 20,000 *pesos*, the interest from which would support two missionaries. The Most Illustrious Congregation of our Lady of the Sorrows, established in our Maximus College of Mexico City, founded another mission. This congregation, at the solicitation of the Venerable and Apostolic Prefect, Father Joseph Vidal, offered 8,000 *pesos* of principal which, by adding another 2,000 *pesos*, was sufficient to support a mission and a missionary, for it was always considered necessary to have

an income of 500 *pesos* to maintain a California mission overseas and quite distant.[47]

Being assured of these endowments, the Father Provincial and Father Juan María thought the time was now ripe to solicit for their venture permission from the Viceroy. With this end in view a memorial was drawn up stating their plans, which was presented to His Excellency, a man who had always shown himself to be unbending to all the men in authority, who because of Father María's influence had spoken to him about the affair. But now seeing the formal document already drawn up, he gave a copy of it to the Attorney-general, who replied strongly opposing the affair, alleging that the royal decrees of the King, his master, prohibited anyone from entering California. Father Juan María however, refuted this argument by replying that the Royal Decree was not absolute, but applied to the period of the war with the Tarahumares Indians, who had uprisen against the Spaniards, and it was now quite generally known that all their land was in a state of complete tranquility. Besides this, His Majesty's decree was aimed at the great expense which the Royal Treasury had been put to, with no results from any of the attempts that had been made in previous years, while this which the Company was asking permission to make, was to be carried on without taking one *peso* from the Royal Treasury, being at the expense of the benefactors, who were now sure of the enterprise. With these precautions and the interest which Her Excellency, the Viceroy's wife, who had always shown herself very friendly and kindly disposed toward the Company, took in their behalf, the Viceroy issued the license

[47] This is the origin of the Pious Fund.

asked for on February 5, 1697; and on the following day the document was drawn up under the aforesaid two conditions, His Excellency granting at the same time to the Fathers various privileges relating to the government of the soldiers, who were to go as escort, which His Majesty later confirmed, these constituting the same charter under which up to the present day, California has been governed.[48]

19: FATHER JUAN MARÍA STARTS OUT FROM MEXICO CITY, ARRIVES AT SINALOA, AND UNDER AUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES MAKES HIS FIRST JOURNEY INTO CALIFORNIA

After receiving this dispatch from the Viceroy on the 6th of January, on the following day, the 7th, Father Juan María left Mexico City, – for his ardent longing to convert California would admit of no delay – leaving Father Juan de Ugarte as Procurator of these missions, to take in the alms promised by the benefactors, and to assume charge of what provisions and other things would have to be shipped from Acapulco. He selected as his companion Don Estevan Rodriguez Lorenzo, a noble and very devout Portuguese, who had offered himself to Father Juan María as a soldier, later becoming captain of the Presidio for a period of many years; and to his prudence, valor and christian zeal were due the later military successes which marked this conquest.[49]

[48] See Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, p. 95. This license was issued both to Kino and Salvatierra to enter California in the interest of Christianity, February 5, 1697. It is quoted verbatim in Clavijero, *Historia*, p. 40.

[49] Captain Estevan Rodriguez Lorenzo was born at Algarve in Portugal. For many years he was Mayordomo of a plantation belonging to the Jesuit

The first journey was made to the ranch of Santa Lucia, where Father Juan Bautista Copart was staying, who, inasmuch as he had accompanied Don Pedro de Atondo's expedition to California, was in a position to give information about a number of things relating to that country, as well as some idea about the language used by the Indians. From then he passed on to Tepotzotlan to deliver over the College, of which he had been Rector, to his successor Father Sebastian de Estrado, and to take leave of his beloved sons, the novices, whose tears testified to the sorrow they felt over the loss of their adored Father. He next went on to the City of Queretaro, to visit the first founder of the California missions, Don Juan Caballero y Ocio, who besides the 20,000 *pesos* which endowed the first two settlements afterwards aided them with many gifts. Leaving Queretaro, he arrived at Guadalajara, where he remained a few days to talk over the affairs of California with Doctor Don Joseph Miranda Villaisan, Attorney-general for the Royal Audiencia, who regarded Father Juan María as a saint, and who while he lived was a most interested and capable protector of all affairs pertaining to California.

He then journeyed along the road until he came to the Sinaloa mission, where he was received with extraordinary demonstrations of love and charity by the missionary fathers, as well as by his old children the Indians of the Sierra de Chínipas, who left their villages to greet him with such affection and rejoicing that, according to what the Father afterwards wrote, he could

College at Tepotzotlan. In 1697 he came with Salvatierra's party to California. His piety and valor were of great assistance in building up the Jesuit missions on the peninsula. He died in 1746. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, 244-5.

not contain tears of gratitude and satisfaction when he saw his old children so steadfast in their Faith. And well indeed did they demonstrate it, for when Father Juan María arrived in their country a few days later, the Tarahumares again rebelled, and fell on the Indians of the Sierra de Chínipas, placing the lives of missionary fathers in grave danger. Yet Father Juan María went in person to comfort and console them, going without the aid of a single Spanish soldier, while the Chínipas formed a band of 600 warriors, attacked the rebellious apostates, overcame them and forced them to fly from the various trenches they had made in the territory of the Christians. Eight only died in the war; and their relatives, instead of grieving for them, expressed satisfaction, considering themselves extremely fortunate that some of their kinsmen should have died in behalf of the Faith.

Father Juan María remained in the Sierras until the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, then, on the day following, he started for the coast to await the galleon from Acapulco, which after a seven months' voyage had just reached the port of Yaqui. Inasmuch as he was carrying the saintly image of Our Lady of Loreto, who was going out to be conqueror of California, it seemed as if all Hell conspired to raise up new torments which might possibly serve to prevent this most happy embarcation which would introduce the Faith among the heathen. But the Great Lady who had conquered the demons in Mexico, when they tried to obstruct the issuing of the license, also overcame the devils in the sea, for when the sailors petitioned the Great Lady, she delivered them from all danger.

After Father Juan María arrived at the Port of

Yaqui, he remained there about a month and a half, both to take on fresh provisions since those carried by the galleon because of the delay had for the most part become spoiled, and also to await the arrival of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who was appointed his companion on this conquest. The latter was in Pimería Alta, and on account of the new uprising we have spoken of was not permitted to leave either by the Father-visitor of those missions, or by the general of the troops in the Province of Sonora, both of whom wrote to the Viceroy that Father Kino alone was as valuable as an entire Presidio, and it was not right for him to leave in times of such grave danger. For this reason, in his place was selected Father Francisco María Picolo, a Sicilian by birth, from the mission of Jesus de Carachio in the Tarahumara province, who had already secured a license from Our Father-general to enter California.[50]

After taking into consideration these delays, and having the necessary supplies now at hand, Father Juan María resolved to embark without waiting for his comrade. This event took place on Saturday, October 5th, on the evening of the day dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary; although, owing to various mishaps which occurred, the galleon did not leave port until the 10th of the month, a day dedicated to San Francisco de Borja. After experiencing some dangers, which were overcome by invoking Our Lady of Loreto, at daybreak on

[50] Salvatierra's letters give the following members of his party:

Alferez Luis de Torres Tortolero, Estevan Rodriquez, Lorenzo, Bartolome de Robles Figueroa, Juan Caravana, a Maltese, Nicolas Marquez, a Sicilian, Juan, a Peruvian mulatto, Three Indians, Romero de la Sierpe, Commander.

See Bancroft, *Nor. Mexican States*, p. 284. A full account of their voyage is found in Venegas, *History*, vol. ii, p. 19 ff. This account says they left the Yaqui river on October 10, and disembarked on October 19. See also Alegre, *Historia*, vol. iii, p. 96.

the following Saturday, to their great joy, they discovered the land of California; although, owing to contrary winds they were forced to tack about for three days, at times approaching and at times drawing away from land, until, when Monday dawned, they sighted the mountain range called the Virgins. At the end of another two days, favorable winds springing up, they sailed throughout the night and dawn found them off San Bruno. From thence they went to the inlet of San Dionisio, opposite Carmen Island. Anchor was cast in sight of the very spot where the town of Loreto was afterwards located.

While at this locality of San Bruno, several California Indians came down to the shore to look at Father Juan María, following him along the shore to the inlet of San Dionisio. When the Father landed he was peaceably received by about fifty of them, men, women and children, who knelt on the sands and, with signs of adoration, kissed the images of Christ on the Cross and the saintly Virgin which the Father carried. He tried to enlighten them as best he could by making use of the words he had learned from Father Copart's papers, as to the object of his arrival; namely, to live among them, and try to lift up their souls to heaven.

Father Juan María disembarked on Saturday, October 19, 1697. And immediately he had a tent raised, in which he placed the very holy image of Our Lady of Loreto, and which served for a chapel, where the holy sacrifice of the mass was celebrated.[51] Already a small camp had been formed nearby, with the supplies and cargo they had unloaded. And it can now be seen with

[51] Here a shelter was built to house the image of Our Lady of Loreto, to whom the settlement of Baja California had been dedicated.

what great happiness and rejoicing the Father gave thanks to God and His Holy Mother for having fulfilled, after so many vicissitudes and dangers, his ardent desires and aspirations. He at once began, with indefatigable industry, to study the native language, assisting himself with the dictionary compiled by Father Copart and by a translation this same Father had inserted in it of the Christian doctrine.

At the same time he continued to add to it a supply of new words from his association with the Indians and from the questions he put to them. By means of these he was able to begin his exhortations; and to serve as a further attraction, after he had finished explaining some mystery, he gave each one a large spoonful of cooked maize, a food unknown to them until then, but which they found much more palatable and substantial than the roots and wild fruits upon which up to that time they had subsisted.

20: THE LITTLE SETTLEMENT AT LORETO IS ATTACKED BY FOUR TRIBES OF HEATHEN, WHO ARE SUBDUED WITH THE AID OF THE MOST HOLY MARY

The auspicious beginning made by Father Juan María in California continued with every evidence of prosperity. The Indians seemed quite contented, coming not only to be instructed but also to have their hunger appeased by the maize he apportioned out to them. But the devil took advantage of this very kindness to make them restless and to incite them to revolt against the Father; and inasmuch as they had become fond of the new diet of maize which they had never known before, they attempted upon several occasions to steal

some of the boxes of supplies, which the soldiers had used to form the barricades for their little camps. They had never before been able to make away with them since soldiers guarded them night and day. For this reason it seemed to them more feasible to gather a large band of warriors, to attack the Spanish camp, capture the supplies, taking the lives of all, including the Father, and then appropriate all the supplies for themselves. In this they were encouraged by knowing that the galleon had now returned to Yaqui with the sailors, leaving with Father Juan María only five soldiers, three Indian servants from Yaqui, and a small cabin boy. From the end of October to the twelfth of November, our members were aware of the restlessness of the Indians, and the imminent danger of assault. But for all this Father Juan María did not refrain from going outside the settlement to expound the Christian doctrine, afterwards portioning out the rations of cooked maize. Not satisfied with this, the Indians kept coming repeatedly to the settlement to ask for maize. Now Father Juan María did not consider it wise to dole it out to them unless they had earned it by toil and manual labor, to which they had no intention of submitting. In order to make a general attack, they called together four neighboring tribes, and made a general assault, on the third day of November, on the tiny camp of Loreto. The soldiers were on their guard and in a moment were up in arms; and though, from the beginning they could have discharged their muskets, which meant death to many Indians, yet they preferred simply to defend themselves, rather than inflict injury. Anxious lest the Indians might perish, Father Juan María with great bravery went out of the settlement and tried to persuade

them to withdraw, and not to expose their lives to danger. Their only answer was to send three arrows at him simultaneously, but the Lady of Loreto saved him from their sharp points by causing them to enter the folds of his garment at an angle, and so they caused him no damage whatsoever.

The Indians gathered fresh courage when they saw that one of the mortars which the soldiers had lighted, being cracked, burst with the impetus, and, although it could harm the men of the camp who were close to it, yet it pleased the Lord that outside of fright, they were not otherwise hurt. When they saw this the Indians pushed the attack on all sides, coming so close to the place where the mortar had burst that the soldiers realized their lives were now in grave danger, and opened fire with their muskets. Soon the Indians began to fall, some of them slain, and others badly wounded, while the remainder were so thoroughly frightened that they withdrew immediately, leaving the place in perfect silence and the soldiers free from the fatigue and oppression of the combat. This retreat took place close to sundown; and half an hour or so later, from the small ranch close by, came a group of women, with their children, who begged for peace and pardon for their husbands and other relatives, promising in the name of all that in the future there would be no more uprisings, and that they would all live in peace with the settlers. Father Juan María heard them with immense gratification, and having censured them forgave them their past offence, and on behalf of the captain and soldiers he granted them the pardon and the peace which they desired. With these and other words he sent them away greatly comforted and, when nightfall came,

he called all to the Chapel of the Most Holy Virgin of Loreto where they chanted the Rosary and Litany together in thanksgiving for this significant victory over such adverse circumstances. All this has been pointed out and commented upon in the history which has been written on the Conquest of California.

21: DESCRIBING THE MANY PRUDENT MEANS WHICH FATHER JUAN MARÍA EMPLOYED TO ASSURE AND FURTHER THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

Now that Father Juan María had succeeded in reaching California, and had begun to establish our Holy Faith and Catholic Religion under such auspicious circumstances, it would be well to speak of the very judicious means he employed for this spiritual conquest, which was to prove of such great glory to God and of so great a benefit to innumerable people. The first thing he sought to accomplish was to have fixed rental properties, the interest derived from these to be used to support the missionaries in this land; but since they were so far off across the sea, and could not personally attend to collecting the rents and expending the proceeds for supplies and provisions, which had to be sent annually from Mexico City to California, he talked over the affair with our Father-general, who ordered that in addition to the Procurator-general, who resided in Mexico, and had charge of all affairs pertaining to the Provinces, there should be a special Procurator who was to have charge of whatever pertained to the needs and welfare of California.[52] This was after-

[52] Venegas (*Natural and Civil History*, vol. i, 425-455) describes how carefully Salvatierra planned to put his missions on a permanent basis.

wards done, and he continued invariably to chose for this office of Father Provincial active, capable and zealous members. And, to insure the prompt dispatch of whatever might be sent from Mexico, he requested the Father missionaries who lived along the coasts of Sinaloa and Sonora to take charge of sending out the boats, with their cargoes of cattle, maize and other supplies that were destined for California. This they have done and continue to do up to the present day, for they realized that by so doing they likewise could co-operate in converting these heathen people.

The second thing he turned to with most prudent foresight was to find sites suitable for founding missions and Indian villages, which should have sufficient water supply and ground adapted for planting and at the same time have sufficient pasturage for all kinds of live stock. Indefatigably they worked at the preliminaries, since the land was hard to cultivate, being very rough and full of rocks.

From the start of this conquest, Father Juan María undertook to support the soldiers at the presidio and the sailors of the ship which conveyed the supplies and equipment to California. Later he set this forth in various memorials which were presented to the Viceroy and Royal Tribunal; and in the reports he made to his Majesty of the conquests he had carried out in the

He had an agent in Mexico City who had charge of all purchasing for the missions, the soliciting of funds, etc. All money was invested in farms creating a permanent endowment; these were managed for the benefit of the missions, and were under the charge of the agent in Mexico City who outfitted the missions and missionaries with apparel, utensils, provisions, medicines, and animals. For many years Father Ugarte and later Alexandro Romano were procurators for the California missions. Under Romano in 1716 the missions' funds were invested in Mexican haciendas, and only the income used for the missions.

King's name, placing the whole under his rule.[53] He insisted that the cost of maintaining the presidio and the sailors should be borne by the Royal Treasury, especially since he had not received the gift of three hundred *pesos*, which his Majesty had ordered to be given to each of the aforesaid Fathers, and which his Majesty had doubled to the Father missionaries of the other Provinces. The Royal Ministers strongly opposed this claim, which our Father continuously insisted upon for twenty years or more while he was in charge of the Cal-

[53] Salvatierra made several reports to New Spain. Among these is the Picolo Memorial of February 10, 1702, outlining what had been accomplished in the first five years on the peninsula and describing in detail the founding of the four missions, Loreto, San Xavier de Biaundó, Dolores, and San Juan de Londó. He lays forth clearly the needs of the country: – two ships a year to establish commerce with the mother country, some families of good birth to settle and colonize the country, more soldiers for protection against Indian wars, and a Commander-general to keep order. This report was sent to the Audiencia in Guadalajara in the hope that funds would be supplied for the conquest; $3000 was granted – an inadequate sum for their undertaking.

Again in 1703, through Rolándegui, who had gone from Mexico to Madrid, Salvatierra laid the needs of the California missions before the young king, Philip V, in a memorial, read June 16, in the Council of the Indies before His Majesty. On Sept. 28, 1703, His Majesty signed five warrants in behalf of the missions. These provided for a further colonization of the country, an annual subsidy of $7000 (six thousand had already been promised), a vessel supplied, etc. In return for these concessions the pearl fisheries were to be revived, and a port assured the Philippine galleons. These memorials were placed in the Viceroy's hands, and for nearly two years were not acted on by the general assembly. The missions in the meanwhile were on the verge of starvation, the garrisons unpaid, and Salvatierra disheartened, yet he wrote to his friend Miranda "I, for my part will remain here, without a single soldier, what ever risk may be in it." Venegas, *Natural and Civil History*, vol. i, 344. Again, on May 25, 1705, after Salvatierra who had now been appointed provincial, had gone personally to Mexico City, he presented a memorial to the Council, and received a second order from the King to supply funds to the missions. Philip's second decree, dated Aug. 15, 1705, was again delayed by the inaction of the viceroy. This state of affairs continued until the arrival in 1710, of the new viceroy, the Duke de Linares, who was friendly to the missions. This delay no doubt prevented the missions from being extended into Upper California for Kino and Salvatierra had dreamed of pushing them as far north as Monterey.

ifornia mission. After his death, however, this was accomplished and put into practice by the decrees of our Catholic Monarch, who also graciously ordered that the government of the fort and the marines should be under the control of whoever happened to be Superior of California, according to the method they had established from the beginning, with the permission and approval of the Viceroy.[54]

Now, it is a fact that the most prudent Father, foreseeing the very grave difficulties that might otherwise arise, arranged to have the selection of the captain and other military heads of the fort, and even of the soldiers themselves, governed entirely by the wish and disposition of this same Superior, who had the right to remove them and put others in their places when they failed to fulfill their obligations. The reason for this has been fully explained in the history that has been written of the glorious conquest of California. Nevertheless, from the beginning it was an understood fact, that, although the selection was in the hands of this Superior, yet the minor officials and the rest of the soldiers were to be under the captain of the presidio, who was to act as their superior officer and who had the right to punish and discipline them not only when they were insubordinate in military matters, but in any other matter whatever. Father Juan María furthermore did not interfere in the private government of the captain, letting him carry on his affairs without disturbance, even when complaints were carried to him, unless the captain, being wrongly informed, should exceed the limits of justice.

He also tried from the beginning to have the soldiers

[54] This was Philip v.

observe all the laws and regulations which are enforced in the best disciplined presidios, and he was no less careful to see that all conducted themselves like Christians, heard mass with devotion, and recited the Rosary of Our Lady daily, and on Sundays sang in the Chapel of Loreto after the Litany. Then, in addition, he would preach for their benefit a fervent sermon in which he exhorted them to do good deeds, to frequent the Sacraments of confession and communion, especially during the festivities of the Most Holy Virgin, and to bar from the presidio all oaths, curses and blasphemies; and he made it a custom for anyone who was disobedient to pay a certain penalty which he imposed.

While speaking about the government of the presidio, it is well to add a word at this point concerning the care Father Juan María took to procure a suitable form of government in the villages and missions newly established for the Indians, arranging to have the fathers of each mission elect governors, fiscal justices of the church, and teachers of Christian doctrine. In addition to what has already been enumerated, he intrusted to the captain of the presidio, power and authority to command the others, and to see that all obeyed the Fathers. He also arranged for the command of the ships and sailors to be directly subject to the captain of the presidio, as General-captain both on land and sea, yet directly subject to the Superior of the missions, just as these same soldiers were subject to him as captain.[55] By

[55] The plan adopted by Salvatierra was as follows: after the number of missions was increased, the country was divided into three districts each with its own superior, who was responsible to a visitador, appointed by the provincial. The soldiers were subject to a captain who was supreme in all civil, judicial, and military matters. Each mission had one or more soldiers, who punished all minor offenses. In conjunction with the missions were Indian rancherias, each having an Indian governor at its head who was

these means he barred the door finally to greed for pearls, which had always been the main stumbling-block in the many expeditions that had gone heretofore, for, owing to their devilish cupidity, they had not given the necessary attention to the planting of the Faith among these numerous heathen peoples. Now from the beginning Father Juan María absolutely refused the soldiers and mariners the privilege of engaging in the search of pearls; and if, at any time, anyone failed to obey he knew he should have to submit to the punishment of being deprived of using the presidio plaza, and from serving in the navy. Yet this did not deter from searching for pearls those who had brought with them the permission from the higher government to carry on this pursuit for the benefit of the common good and the reimbursing of the Royal Treasury. But they were always cautious to carry this on without annoying the Indians, or allowing any soldiers from the Presidio, or officers or sailors from the ships, to take part in the search.

Father Juan María also watched vigilantly to see that neither the ships which carried supplies, nor any others, brought in strangers of a different type to live in California, for his experience in the other missions on the mainland had taught him that this class of persons was responsible for perverting the Indians, by teaching them drunkenness and many other vices. And inasmuch as persons of this character had frequently committed crimes in the kingdoms of New Spain and New Galicia, they often sought refuge in our most remote missions.

responsible to the Father and the soldiers. For a further summary of the form of governing these outpost missions see Bancroft, *Nor. Mexican States*, vol. i, p. 438-442. See Picolo's report in *Cartas Edificantes y Curiosas*, vol. iii, p. 112-127. Also Venegas, *History*, vol. ii, 230-283.

He greatly desired and, in fact, requested the Father Provincials that whoever was selected to labor in California should have robust health; and he greeted each one upon his arrival with expressions of singular love and charity, instructing them in what was necessary, and charging them to observe spiritual devotion. From the beginning he insisted on having all, even though they did not live in the neighborhood, come to the mission of Loreto to perform the spiritual exercises of Our Father Saint Ignatius; and at certain times he arranged for those who had not yet received their full rank in the Company to attend the usual ceremony that precedes the renewal of the religious vows. For many years all observed this without any signs of reluctance until finally, when having greatly augmented the missions, the towns being at great distance from each other and the roads for the greater part being very rough, this provision was dispensed with. Father Juan María and the other Superior in California who succeeded him then signified that they were satisfied to have each one in his own mission look after the welfare of his individual soul, finding spiritual refreshment in meditation and in other observances, according to the custom observed in all the missions on the mainland.

At the beginning of this most glorious conquest Father Juan María arranged various meetings with the other Father missionaries, in which it was decided, in view of the information now available concerning the land and its inhabitants, what method should be followed in the undertakings and explorations, in civilizing the Gentiles, offering instruction to the catechumens, in educating new Christians, and in correcting and punishing delinquents. In this way Father Juan

María arranged that in whatever related to the spiritual and practical government of the missions the Fathers, even though separated from one another by many leagues, should act in uniformity. In addition to this when, as we shall see later, he became Provincial and revisited California, he instructed them to observe in every way possible the regulations which Father Hernando Cabero, the admirable Visitor-general who had charge of this Province, had impressed upon the Father missionaries on the mainland; since in all these rules were foreseen the dangers which might arise, and which might be avoided, and the salient points that would make it possible for all the missionaries to observe a uniform method of procedure as much in what related to their duties as priests, as in the religious conduct of their own persons.

In considering the means employed in converting the gentiles, it is not easy to describe the loving zeal with which he labored. All the Indians who came to him, being attracted, invited others, and these were greeted with marks of sincere esteem. He showed the affection of a true mother toward them all, aiding them as far as possible with his supply of cooked corn and soup, a regal repast to those people accustomed to sustain life with roots and fruits gathered in the forest. He gave them this same food after they had listened to the discussion of the Christian doctrine, which he expounded for their benefit daily, during which they frequently wondered why he and the other Fathers had left their lands and comforts solely to come and show them the road to Heaven. He also took special pains with the sick, trying to heal and cure them with the scant supply of medicines and remedies available in that land. Be-

cause of this tender treatment many Indians came, bringing their little ones to be baptized by the Father. This the Father did with all solemnity, first giving them, for godfathers, soldiers from the presidio; and when there was a sufficient number of competent young Christians he arranged for the eldest of them to be godfathers to the other little ones. One and all the Father received in the kindliest manner possible, giving them things to eat and distributing rosaries and blessed crosses; and to the Mothers who were still heathens he gave special aid, distributing woolen stuff as coverings for their infants.

The adult Indians, observing Father Juan María's munificence and charity, constantly begged him to baptize them, but in this the Father acted very prudently, and for more than six years he was not willing to open the doors to the baptism of adults, because of the consequences that might arise from any inconstancy on the part of the Indians, and in their not being able to maintain priests on their land. Only in cases of extreme necessity did he baptize sick adults. Of these some died happy after receiving baptism and others who recovered lived afterwards like good Christians.

One of the means employed by Divine Providence to entice the adults to ask for Holy Baptism was to have Father Juan María, who was not satisfied with teaching the younger ones the Christian doctrine daily, set its mysteries to music. Taking a flute, the Father would sing about these mysteries, and following him, like a choir of angels, came the devout band of children, who had already been baptized and who also sang the same thing in the settlements to their parents. Carried along by the harmonious melody of this music, the parents

came to learn about these same mysteries, and were moved to ask to be admitted within the portals of the Holy Church. When Father Juan María finally realized it was now time to baptize the adults he resolved that, according to the law of the Roman Ritual and the custom of the primitive church, the baptisms should be celebrated on the Saturdays preceding the feasts of the Resurrection and of Pentecost. This he did with the utmost solemnity and pomp possible, so that these two days should be the cause for rejoicing among all.

It was with no less care that he celebrated the feasts occurring throughout the year, especially those of the Most Holy Virgin. In the celebration of the *Corpus* he caused all the Indians to carry branches in the procession, and to be present at mass, which was sung with extreme devotion. During Holy Week he had all the rituals and holy ceremonies in use which were ordinarily observed in the church on these days, for, as he said, these outward emblems were very essential to aid in planting the Faith in those most recently baptized, since it was through the eyes that devotion and charity entered the heart. In this way they forgot their heathen customs, which could not in any way be permitted when they were contrary to Christian conduct. Yet he did not forbid other forms of amusement with which they had grown up, and in which nothing superstitious or detrimental to the good of their souls was observable. They already knew that on the most important feast days they were expected to come from their settlements to headquarters, there to amuse themselves with whatever dances and games struck their fancy. Of these, as he wrote in one of his letters, he had observed as many as thirty very ingen-

ious dances, which imitated, in an artistic manner, human actions as they appeared in war, in the home and in fishing; and in none of these had he seen anything suggestive of indecency or superstition. Upon one occasion, as Father Pedro de Ugarte testified, when the two were watching one of these dances, in order to gain their confidence Father Juan María himself, taking this same Father with him, entered the circle of the Indians. For a short space they joined in one which they called *Nimbe*, to the great delight of the Indians at seeing their dance win such high approval. A truly edifying action on the part of one so deeply religious and circumspect as Father Juan María, as the historian of the Life of the Venerable Father, Diego Luis de Sanvitores, an Apostle in the Mariana Islands, remarks in a similar case which refers to this Apostolic Father and Illustrious Martyr of Christ Jesus.

22: CONCERNING THE IMMENSE LABOR EXPENDED BY FATHER JUAN MARÍA TO ASSURE AND FURTHER THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

If, as the Castillian saying runs, "What is worth much, costs much," the Venerable Father Juan María knew how valuable and precious souls were, nor did he doubt that the son of God gave of his blood and lost his life to redeem them. From his youth even though, as we saw, he was a layman, he burned with the desire to convert the heathen, not hesitating to expose his life to the gravest of dangers in its accomplishment. Moved by God he entered the Company, and by the special grace of His Divine Majesty, was sent to the Province of

New Spain. Thirteen years he passed in converting and instructing the Tarahumares until, his great virtue being recognized he was especially chosen by Heaven to undertake the salvation of California, in which he spared no labor to accomplish this end. We have already seen how much trouble and anxiety it cost him to obtain permission to undertake this very apostolic mission. After he had obtained it he bore upon his shoulders the very heavy cross of immense toil which he was forced to assume in order to inaugurate, carry on and make a success of this venture.

In the first instance, he had secured his permit from the Viceroy and the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, on the understanding that whatever he did should cause no expense to the Royal Treasury.[56] And since this forced him to support a presidio of soldiers to safeguard the expedition, to maintain also a ship and sailors to transport whatever was necessary for the sustenance and maintenance of the Fathers and of this same presidio, to provide nourishment for the Indians, and also to secure whatever was needed each year in excess of the 20,000 *pesos*, it can readily be seen how indefatigably Father Juan María had to labor, during his many journeys, to solicit alms from benefactors. Although from the beginning he was materially aided by the vigilance and solicitude with which Father Juan Ugarte endeavored to

[56] Venegas gives the following reasons why the conquest of California was not aided by the government: 1, the amounts expended in the conquest of Florida and Texas; 2, jealousy over the Jesuits whom they thought were seeking personal aggrandizement; 3, the reports spread by Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, who wrote to the Viceroy complaining of the Fathers, (Venegas, *Natural and Civil History*, i, 276). In his *Founding of Spanish California*, p. 17, Chapman adds these reasons: 1, the opposition of the Jesuits to colonization; 2, the sterility of the land; 3, the difficulty of the voyage across the Gulf.

collect alms from patrons in Mexico, and with them to remit the supplies needed in California, yet this help lasted only for a period of four years, for after these had passed, this same Father Ugarte went out to be Father Juan María's companion, and to become the second apostle among these Gentiles, as is fully recounted in the history of his life.

By this time that notable benefactor of California, Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, Treasurer at Acapulco, had died, and, after his death they no longer had the galleon in which these many years Don Pedro had personally dispatched supplies from Acapulco to California. At the same time the bark San Fermin, which had been donated by the Treasurer, was also lost off the coast near the Yaqui Coast. All this chain of misfortunes was a continuous source of grief to Father Juan María, and he constantly took care to write letters to the Viceroys, the ecclesiastical prelates, and other dignitaries, in order to solicit their aid with donations to conserve and extend this conquest. He personally went over to the Yaqui coast from time to time, from whence he travelled from mission to mission, begging help from Sinaloa and Sonora. He also went out to the mining settlements called Rosario los Frayles, and Guadalupe, and to other farms and cattle ranches in order to collect whatever he could in the way of cattle, flour, seeds and provisions.[57]

To this duty was added the burden, for more than twenty years, of the economic and secular administra-

[57] Troubles at the missions may be traced to the commander at Loreto Antonio de Mendoza, who sent many letters to Mexico, among them one to the viceroy, complaining of conditions on the peninsula. His complaints temporarily checked the generosity of the donors. Mendoza's emnity was the result of Salvatierra's prohibition of pearl-fishing by his soldiers.

tion of the presidio, the distribution of rations and salaries, and also the providing for everything they had need of in a country so poor and destitute even of the most common necessities. And since during these twenty years no provision was made by the royal treasury for the support of the presidio soldiers, he was obliged to maintain them out of the funds already collected for the Missions and with other alms he gathered. Consequently Father Juan María and the other Father suffered greatly from hunger, depriving themselves even of the most ordinary comforts. And since the transportation of the foodstuffs which were being brought over from the mainland was often delayed, and frequently because of this delay arrived badly spoiled and almost worthless, it became necessary to dole out what little remained very sparingly to the soldiers and Fathers. Then there came a time when, there being no other food left, they distributed by ounces the wafers of the Hosts, which Father Juan María had put away in a chest for just such an emergency. When everything necessary to sustain life was gone Father Juan María went out, as did all the Fathers and soldiers, fired by his example, to search in the mountains for some bark, roots and wild fruits, which would suffice to support life. And this great servant of God finally became so thin, badly nourished and weakened by the hunger from which he suffered, that, as he wrote to the attorney of Guadalajara, Don Joseph Miranda, he hardly had strength to take his pen in hand and write. To provide in the future for some direct aid in case such dire extremities as they were then suffering might again occur, he was obliged to send to Mexico to Father Francisco Picolo, to beg alms from the benefactors. He accomplished this, and

took the opportunity of collecting 6,000 *pesos* more, which at that time the King ordered to be sent from his royal treasury, to be given as alms to the California Mission.[58]

Father Juan María was in even graver danger, when the ship San Zavier, carried by the winds, was stranded off the coast of Los Séris, and he was obliged to go through this country himself; and, since he had no aid, he began to fear he would die of hunger. Finally, when he was scarcely able to take a pen in hand, he wrote a letter to the Marquis de Villa-Puenta, taking leave of him for the other life. And, since he believed death was very near, he entrusted the letter to a very loyal servant whom he had brought with him, who was to try to send it to Mexico. He gave him instructions as to what he was to do after his death. But full attention has already been paid to all this in the history that has been written on California, and in the Life of the Venerable Apostolic Missionary of California, Father Juan de Ugarte, which has already been published.

And what shall I say of the many times Father Juan María's life was endangered in that most apostolic conquest of California? For, particularly in the very early years, the Indians many times tried to attack the presidio, and kill all the Fathers and soldiers; and in addition to this, on a number of occasions, when he went alone to the rancherias of the Indians while they were still in a state of barbarism, they broke out in a riot. But the Father, being aware of their evil intentions, spoke to them with such gentle words and such forceful reasoning that the Indians were pacified, and even seemed

[58] This was granted by the Audiencia at Guadalajara after Picolo presented his Memorial of February, 1702, before them. They paid only half of the amount donated.

to feel more affection for Father Juan María. Various incidents dealing especially with this point are referred to at greater length in the history of this conquest. Several times his life was also imperilled at sea, when frightful tempests and hurricanes were experienced. In one of these which lasted for more than two days they could neither eat nor find rest. In a letter he wrote to his dear friend and benefactor, the attorney of Guadalajara, Don Joseph Miranda, thanking him for a little book he had sent about the miracles of Our Lady of the Defense, which relates in one instance how Our Lady had liberated some sailors who invoked her aid from the dangers of some ugly young whales that followed them, to their grave danger, during their passage, he writes these words:

The incident of the whales, as told in the small book, happened to me one day and an entire night in the month of March.

Many also were the hardships and dangers to which he was exposed on land, during the journeys he made in the interest of that conquest. For in addition to the three times he travelled from Mexico to California, in which he walked, going and coming, more than 3,000 leagues, and over and above the many other journeys he took bound for the missions of the mainland to seek alms and assistance for California, he undertook another very long tedious one, accompanied by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, with the idea of discovering a land passage to California. This was made in the year 1701, through uninhabited and very desolate lands devoid of water and supplies, and at times took them close to the territory of the Apaches and other barbarous tribes.[59]

[59] Father Kino's diary, or *Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, vol. i, p. 265 ff. describes this journey made in 1701 from Mission Dolores.

Even though he had walked, going and coming, some 800 leagues, his only gain was weariness, hardships and the belief that no such way existed except in the vain and fantastic imaginings of those who wished to persuade him. Inasmuch as it has been ascertained that California is not an island, but a country contiguous to Pimería Alta, it will not now be a vain imagination to believe that we can find this road.

Also more laborious because of their greater length were the journeys he ventured upon in this same California. For as it happens to be a very rugged, rocky country, mountainous and full of precipices and deep ravines it was necessary from the first to open roads, some leading to the places already discovered, to enable them to communicate between one mission and another; others to be able to aid their ministrations and visits to the Indian settlements, since the chief ones were very widely scattered and divided. These roads greatly facilitated their labor during the period of the general epidemic from which these new Christians suffered for several years, and facilitated caring for the sick, who had need of spiritual and bodily remedies, for the work was arduous in the extreme and sufficient to crush the most robust.

Finally there was the incessant and very heavy work of being obliged to deal with barbarous tribes, accustomed to the vices and licentiousness of heathenism. Some of these stubbornly objected to receiving the gentle law of the gospel while others hindered those who wished to embrace it. Often they treated in a scandalous fashion those already baptized, forcing them to leave the pueblos and return to the manners and customs of their barbarous heathenism. Nor was Father Juan

María ignorant of the secret conspiracies that the Indians were accustomed to form at the instigation of their wizards, with the purpose of making an end of every one of them, either killing them or forcing them, through violence, to leave their lands. Although his spirit was taxed with such devilish hostility, he tried with all the fervor of his ardent charity to remedy this with kindness, even though he realized it was sometimes necessary to punish, so that this punishment should serve as a warning to others. Yet he tried to avail himself of various means to temper the severity of justice. Several times he interceded with the captain to pardon the guilty ones, at others he resorted to mediation to lessen the penalty. Again he made a private agreement with the captain to pardon them, on this condition, that outwardly he was to pretend to be inexorable, until, just as he was about to inflict the blows, – which were to take place in the presence of all, – he was to grant pardon to the offenders, through the intercession of Father Juan María. Seeing how he labored for their interest and protection, the Indians came to look upon him as their Father and freely and gladly obeyed him.

23: FATHER JUAN MARÍA COMES TO THE PROVINCES AT THE REQUEST OF HIS SUPERIORS, AND ENTERS UPON HIS DUTIES AS PROVINCIAL

This even tenor of Father Juan María's apostolic life was soon destined to be interrupted, however, by an incident I shall now relate. There had come to this province as visitor, and at the same time as vice-provincial, Father Manuel Piñeyro, a very able man, who was

from the Province of Aragon, although he held under the patent and assignation of Our Father-general, the office of Provincial in Toledo. Having observed the apostolic zeal and religious virtues of Father Juan María, and being extremely eager to make his acquaintance, and desiring, at the same time, to obtain some information about the conquest undertaken by this Father, and how Christianity was progressing in California, he gave orders for him to come to Mexico, leaving his missions to the care of the other Fathers who were laboring so gloriously in them. In his summons he had the warm coöperation of His Excellency the Viceroy, Duke of Alberquerque. Inasmuch as he had received a royal decree from His Majesty, in which were contained various points touching on the prosecution of the conquest of California, His Excellency was of the opinion that, in a meeting he had decided to call, the presence of Father Juan María would be invaluable, since he had been the originator of that most apostolic conquest, and, with infinite hardships, labor and dangers had witnessed its fulfillment.

Yet while these were the reasons why Father Juan María was recalled to the province, nevertheless God, in his all-seeing providence, brought him there so that as provincial he might govern this same province, where he might be enabled with the authority of his office better to advance the interests of California. It happened that near the end of the year in which the Father-visitor and vice-provincial, Manuel Piñeyro arrived in New Spain, God was pleased to call him to Himself in his mercy.

The instructions in case of death, being then opened after his demise, it was found that Father Juan María

had been appointed by Our Father-general as provincial of this province. Although a messenger was dispatched at once to hasten his arrival, – for he had not reached Mexico up to that time, – the courier failed to meet him, for he had taken a different route from the one chosen by the Father. When Father Juan María arrived early in November of the year 1704, as soon as he learned of his appointment he placed before the Father Councillors a great many arguments and reasons why the weight of that work should not fall on his shoulders, although a very honorable office. Yet his objections were not admitted, and he was forced to acquiesce and undertake the governing of the Province.

The first thing he did was to try to discharge the executive business relating to California; and, by giving this his prompt attention, he was able to devote his energies to what related to the government of the province. After a month and a half, at the end of December, in a visit he made to the Colleges at Pueblo, Vera Cruz and Oaxaca, he conducted himself with such prudence, kindliness and zeal for religious observances that he left all his subordinates comforted and inspired by his wisdom, and he procured from them whatever he wished. In the month of March in the year 1705, he returned to Mexico City where he was obliged to remain to look after affairs which presented themselves at that time, and were of the highest importance to the welfare of the province.

For a period of three years the Royal Treasury had failed to pay the allowances for the support of the many missionaries who were engaged in the conversion and enlightenment of the Provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, Tepehuanes, Tarahumares and in Las Sierras de Topia

and San Andres, and as the quota apportioned for each one was 300 *pesos*, it was a matter each year of 39,900 *pesos*. Inasmuch as it was a binding obligation for the province to provide annual shipments of supplies for the Father missionaries, consisting only of what was absolutely necessary and could not be had in these very remote regions, they found they owed almost 120,000 *pesos*, which they would either have to borrow or take upon a mortgage.

The provincial, Juan María, made every possible effort to collect this money, but the viceroy invariably excused himself on the grounds of the poverty of the royal treasury, and the need of helping Our King and Lord Philip V when his crown was endangered by attacks of powerful enemies, and that his treasury should assist in financing the war. His Excellency prided himself on being a loyal vassal to His Majesty, and save all he could from expenses, so as not to be remiss in sending to Spain everything that was in the Royal Treasury. The Father provincial represented to him the obligations the province owed them, the necessity of maintaining those many persons to whom the king had entrusted the conversion, education and enlightenment of the Indians, all of whom, as His Majesty's ministers, conserved his authority among these barbarians by their labor. For this reason it should not be of less importance to support the Father missionaries of the Gospel than to remit to Spain funds for the war.

Up to this point Father Juan María bore himself with the greatest submission and humility; but failing to find a way to the viceroy's heart, he changed his mode of procedure, and was moved to tell him in words that were moderate and yet to the point, that he was not a

whit less loyal and faithful as a vassal of His Majesty and as such, at the cost of countless hardships, and at the risk of his life, he had extended his authority to the Californias by adding a new kingdom to his realms. This conquest the Catholic kings had been unable to secure for the space of 180 years, in spite of all their power, although so many of His Majesty's vassals had attempted it from the time of the invincible Don Hernan Cortés. At the cost of many thousand of *pesos* they had tried without success to accomplish something there, which with the help of God, and His Most Holy Mother of Loreto he had done without the expenditure of a single cent from the coffers of His Majesty for so worthy a venture.

To these arguments devoutly inspired by the righteous zeal of Father Juan María the Viceroy had nothing to reply. But he continued to persist in his refusal, still deeming that it was of more important service to the king, to look to the executive expenses of his crown. However, all this did not serve to deter Father Juan María; but, on the contrary, only made him more determined to appeal to the highest authority, for he judged this would be the surest means of securing his ends. For this reason he called into consultation not only the ordinary Father-advisers, who were selected by Our Father-general, for more serious matters, but also all the oldest Father-professors who were in Mexico. After explaining to them what a miserable condition the province and missions were in, and how all the efforts he had put forth to collect the allowances had been in vain, he saw no other course now open but to abandon and renounce all missions except those of California, which did not depend for their support on the Royal Treas-

ury. The results of this relinquishment would be either that His Excellency would be forced to pay what he owed, or the province would be relieved of levying new taxes each year to cover remittances to the missionary Fathers. All the Fathers in conference agreed with his views regarding them as inspired by God to his servant as a remedy in this dire necessity. And with their concurrence the document recommending this discontinuance was signed by all, and authorized by the Secretary of the province.[60]

The Father provincial presented the document to the viceroy, who was like one stunned by a sudden thunderbolt, with the shock of this unlooked-for resolution, and the reply he gave for the time being was that he would go over the document in the General Assembly. But he deliberated in private upon some way to escape from the desperate straits in which he was placed. Upon viewing the serious inconveniences that would arise, he found he would be gravely embarrassed, no matter what solution he might come to. For if he decided to pay what was due, to a large extent it would mean diminishing the prompt assistance which the King our Sovereign so urgently needed for the war. If he permitted the discontinuance, he saw he would be forced into the impossible situation of providing for more than 130 priests, and many other members of the Company, who were in charge of the missions, and whom he would

[60] The difficulties of the missions were due to the fact that the King's decree of 1703 was never executed. All the Fathers except Salvatierra and Ugarte wished to abandon the work on the peninsula. On May 25, 1705, Salvatierra presented a memorial threatening to abandon the missions unless they were given assistance. Again the viceroy promised to pay the soldiers, but failed to fulfill his promises. The financial worry in these years prevented Kino and Salvatierra from extending their mission to Monterey in Alta California. See Venegas, *Historia*, vol. ii, pp. 344-372.

promptly have to care for. Yet, if he came to the point of so doing, he realized that, since Our Catholic Monarch had especially charged the Company to undertake the conversion and the enlightenment of such a number of tribes, he would fall into His Majesty's bad grace if he proceeded without consulting him on so momentous a resolution.

Even though at the beginning it was apparent that His Excellency would not believe the Renunciation would actually be put into effect, but considered it merely a ruse, which was nothing more than a mere threat; finally he became convinced of its sincerity. And he grew greatly perturbed when he received a letter from the Governor and Captain-general of Parral, the territory where our missions lay, who, being aware that the Father Provincial had already written to the Father missionaries to be ready in case they received orders to depart, took his pen in hand, and in very energetic language expressed to His Excellency, from the point of one who was closest in touch with what pertained to the missions, what he felt regarding this unforeseen change. He went on to say that the removal of the Father missionaries would mean that all the country would rise in rebellion; that all the Indians would take arms, either to retard the departure of the Fathers, or to prevent the arrival of new priests; and that once the land was in rebellion it would be almost impossible to subjugate it in the future. And after he had confirmed this opinion with various arguments, he concluded his letter by affirming that, in the capacity of a loyal vassal of his Majesty, he gave this warning, so that at no time might he be blamed for failing to fulfill his duty.

In this dilemma the viceroy did not give up attempt-

ing to find some means whereby the Father provincial would refrain from abandoning the missions. Nor was it of less importance, indeed it was particularly edifying, that Her Excellency, the Viceroy's wife, offered to the Father provincial for the redemption of the province her jewel-box containing all her pearls and most valuable jewelry, so that this might enable him to withdraw the memorial in which was contained the abandoning of the missions. Although this revealed her love for the Company and for the well-being of the souls in the missions, and although he felt truly and deeply grateful, Father Juan María would not permit it. There was no reason why Her Excellency should suffer for what he could remedy by other means and which ultimately was in part remedied, for His Excellency eventually arranged to make payments to the missions for that year, reserving the settlement of the back debt until a time when there was a greater supply of money in the Royal Treasury. And in his time the back debt was never paid. Yet because of the dilemma in which he found himself, during the latter years of his governorship, he delivered to the royal officials everything that was due yearly.

24: FATHER JUAN MARÍA CONTINUES HIS VISIT THROUGH THE PROVINCE, EXTENDING HIS JOURNEY INTO CALIFORNIA AS WELL

Having come out entirely successful though not completely so, in the affairs relating to the province and the missions, he determined to accomplish what he had been called upon to do, that is, to give information on conditions as they existed in California, in compliance

with a royal decree which the viceroy had received from His Majesty, ordering a meeting to be held, which Father Juan María was to attend in person. The latter decided, in order to make his information more complete, to put it in writing, setting forth the present status of that most apostolic conquest, and the various obstacles he had encountered in executing some of the orders and dispositions of the royal decree. He showed how necessary it was to keep the government of the presidio under the control of the Father missionaries, particularly under the superior of those missions. After he had presented his report to the viceroy, and saw that His Excellency, upon one pretext or another, kept putting off the meeting from day to day, and failed especially in his duty of again informing his Majesty after seeing the report of the Father provincial, His Reverence arranged to leave Mexico and continue his visitation of the Province.

This he began in the month of June, and at all the colleges visited he held to the same prudent, tactful and charitable manner he had observed while inspecting the other colleges, arranging in all to promote religious observances, to inspire souls, and to instil a fervent application to the proper conduct of our institutions. After he had visited the colleges as far as Guadalajara, he decided to go from there to the Port of Matanchel, where he would set sail for California. He empowered his Secretary Brother Joseph Bellido, who had likewise been secretary to the Father-visitor Manuel Piñeyro, to visit in his name the colleges of Guadiana and Zacatecas. Then he went on from Gaudalajara with Brother Jayme Bravo (who later, after being ordained as a priest, was a very fervent missionary in California)

and embarking at Matanchel, the day after the assumption of Our Mother, after experiencing a most happy voyage, arrived toward the end of August at the little inlet and Port of Loreto.

With his coming also came relief to the missionary Fathers who were in dire need, as this same Father wrote to Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, and in a letter dated August 30th, a short time after his disembarcation, he wrote thus:

> God Our Father will recompense Your Reverence for your aid to these poor missionary Fathers, whom, had I not arrived so promptly in person, I would have found already dead of hunger and suffering.[61]

And he had brought with him as much as he could for the relief of those whom he knew he would find in such utter destitution. Immediately upon his arrival in California he dispatched the boat to the coast of Yaqui, to bring over the relief which Father Kino and the other missionaries had presented. When the ship returned there came with her some of the Fathers from that coast to pay a visit and console themselves with the sight of their provincial, Father Juan María, who remained for two months, through September and October, in California, spending the time laboring among the Indians as though he were actually a missionary. He paid visits to the three towns of Loreto, San Francisco Xavier and S. Juan Londo, the headquarters of three missions already established.[62] And when he dis-

[61] See Salvatierra's letters to Father Kino in Bolton, *Memoir of Pimería Alta*, vol. i, 215, 222, 261, 296, 305, 323, 367, 368, for the needs of the California missions at this period.

[62] Loreto was founded in 1697, San Francisco Xavier in 1699. The omission of Dolores seems to be an error. San Juan Londó was founded in 1702. See Picolo's report in CARTAS EDIFICANTES Y CURIOSAS, vol. iii, pp. 112-127.

covered two additional places, inhabited by Indians who were already tractable and desirious of receiving Holy Baptism, he gave orders for the founding there of two more missions, appointing to them Father Pedro de Ugarte, who had established the one at San Juan Bautista Legui,[63] and Father Juan Manuel de Baseldua, who founded Santa Rosalía Mulegé. He did not leave any particular orders in California, only that they should observe in general, as far as the country and circumstances permitted, those laid down by Father-visitor Hernando Cabero for the better government of the missions on the mainland. Then he arranged to return to attend to governing the province, leaving in California his companion, Brother Jayme Bravo, since it was his earnest desire, and since the Fathers in California also requested it; for already they divined how much he would assist them in temporal affairs. This he did for a period of some fourteen years; when, at the order of his superiors, he was promoted to the priesthood, and served in a spiritual capacity, exerting himself in all his ministering as a missionary for the welfare of his neighbors.

Father Provincial Juan María now completed his visitation of the California missions, which, being new, and the children of his saintly zeal, enjoyed this privilege. The privilege was not conceded to the missions of the mainland, which because of the great distances could never be visited by the Father Provincials, only

[63] San Juan Bautista was founded in 1705; Santa Rosalía in the same year. San Juan was named in honor of Juan Baptista Lopez of Mexico City, who endowed it to the amount of $10,000. Ugarte was very successful here in handling the natives. Bassaldua's Mission, Santa Rosalía on the Mulegé river, later was in charge of Picolo. In 1708, San José Commundú, 20 leagues N. W. of Loreto was established.

by Father-visitors, who were appointed every three years. He then said good-bye tenderly to all the Fathers, and toward the end of October, 1705, embarked for Matanchel, from whence he returned to Mexico City. There the first thing he did was to put into sound shape the funds that supported California missions, for up to this time the benefactors who had founded the missions had retained the principal for themselves, paying the interest annually. There was thus the danger, in case of the death or bankruptcy of the said benefactors, of losing the principal as well. After consulting on this point with the Father missionaries of California, and later with the Father-advisers of the Province in Mexico, and after securing the approval of Our Father-general, Miguel Angel Tamburini, he arranged for the income-bearing property of the missions to be kept safely invested in farms and herds of cattle, the care and increase of which had been and is up to the present time in charge of the person who is appointed by the Father Provincial to the office of procurator of California.

25: FATHER JUAN MARÍA RELINQUISHES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE AND RETURNS TO CALIFORNIA, WHERE HE WORKS GLORIOUSLY THE REMAINING TEN YEARS OF HIS LIFE

Father Juan María conducted all the affairs relating to the government of the province with great acumen since in all these, zeal inspired him, prudence governed him, and the grace of God shone upon him, which he attained by the fervor of supplications in prayer. Just as he was considering making a second trip through the province, as was customary, he was delayed in Mexico

City by the information that there had arrived in Vera Cruz a new and numerous delegation from Europe, which had among its number Father Bernardo Rolándegui who had been procurator for this Province at the two courts of Madrid and Rome. Accordingly it was necessary for him to remain in Mexico to greet him and to allot the members who had come over to the missions and colleges. However he had already relinquished the governorship of the provinces, for, after explaining to Our Father-general the identical reasons he had given to the Father Councillors for not assuming the duties of provincial, His Reverence thought fit to advise him to dedicate himself to the missions of California, which he had founded at the cost of such infinite labor. So the patent of provincial was sent to the aforesaid Father Bernardo Rolándegui, who was in Spain and just back from Rome. This was presented to the Father Councillors on September 17, 1706.

Now that Father Juan María was relieved of the arduous government of the province he retired to the College of San Gregorio, to make careful plans for his return to California. After he had conferred about all matters pertaining to California with Father Alexander Romano, who was retained as their procurator, and after he had given orders to Father Julian de Mayorga, who had recently come over in the delegation from Europe and had already been appointed to California, to prepare and embark at the port of Matanchel, Father Juan María set out on his 500 league journey to the port of Ahome. He took advantage of this opportunity to visit the benefactors on the mainland, thanking them for the great assistance they had rendered with their alms to the new body of professing Christians.

Then he embarked at the Port of Ahome for his longed-for California. The many hardships he endured both by land and by sea on this long journey are disclosed in an excerpt from a letter which he wrote to Don Joseph Miranda, attorney of the Royal Audiencia at Guadalajara. "Of the journey by land," he remarked, "I will say nothing to Your Excellency, and in closing I am only able to say that even as much as I have walked and sailed, I have never known what hardships were on land and sea until now. All the California lads fell ill and I met with youths who, like Leopardus, are made worse the more favors they get." He then refers to the dangers experienced while at sea and in particular to a terrific gale that lasted 36 hours, during which it was impossible to eat, sleep or rest, since they were continuously in grave danger of being wrecked. Finally on the afternoon of the day preceding the purification of Our Mother, at great risk they were able to take shelter in the harbor of the Island of Saint Joseph, where they remained for two days, waiting for the waves to subside.

On the third of February they left that harbor and amid great rejoicing arrived at the longed-for land of California, where all fulfilled the vows they had made to go barefooted from the beach to visit the sanctuary of the Most Holy Virgin of Loreto, there to offer her various tokens of their devotion. And who can say how greatly the soldiers of the presidio, the Father missionaries, and the California Indians, who were now converts, rejoiced when they saw on their soil their old and beloved Father. It was wholly unexpected since they justly feared that he had enough to keep him busy in the province, looking after the government of their

houses and Colleges. At the same time they were all made joyful by the relief he brought to them in the form of supplies, which he had collected in Mexico City and during the extended journey on the mainland, and with the hope that in a very short time, there would arrive Father Julian de Mayorga, who as we have already mentioned, was appointed as California Missionary. He was expected in the boat which had just gone to Matanchel to bring over the supply of provisions that Father Juan María had left in Mexico for this purpose.

Remaining for the time being in the mission of Loreto, he continued his apostolic ministerings, together with the very troublesome task of soliciting aid for the Fathers, and for the maintenance of the soldiers and sailors at the presidio. This he did, because as has already been said, it was not until after the death of Our Father that any arrangement was made for His Majesty to assume the expense of providing for the soldiers and sailors. And during the ten years he spent on this third visit to California he was constantly vigilant in soliciting aid, now by letter, now by journeying, as he had done before, to the mainland to collect, in a way that hurt his pride, from the other missions, from ranches belonging to the chuch, and from the mining towns, what he could to conserve and promote this new body of Christians. And frequently the evil spirits, enraged at witnessing the conversion of so many souls, hindered, – God so permitting – this passage of the ships, creating storms at sea for many days, and through the long delay causing the supplies they carried to deteriorate and even in great measure to spoil.

At other times it happened that the ships conveying the supplies foundered and all were lost. This happened in particular in the year 1717, a new boat being lost at that time with all on board, when, along with eight or ten persons, Father Benito Guisi [64] was drowned while on his way to become a missionary in California. Some twenty others, among them fathers Clemente Guillen and Jacob Doye, who were also assigned by the superiors to the same apostolic task, escaped in a canoe and reached the coast of Sinaloa.[65] Upon such occasions as these was revealed Father Juan María's grandeur of of heart and conformity to the will of God, none seeing him affected or perturbed thereby.[66]

This same great-heartedness and fortitude was shown when in the year 1710, the launch called the San Xavier, which had served from the beginning of the conquest, upon setting out from the coast of Yaqui for California was carried by winds and stranded off the coast of the Séris Indians, a pagan tribe, near the strait called *Sal si puedes*. Thereupon Father Juan María, superior always to whatever adversity arose, without losing his peace of soul, went immediately to the Port of Guaymas, and from there by land to the coast of Séris, after first having sent carpenters by sea to repair and float the stranded boat. In the midst of the great labor entailed by this undertaking he enjoyed the pleasure of baptizing many children, pacifying some enemy tribes, and winning those heathen to our Holy Faith, and he prom-

[64] In 1717 Father Benito Guisi was drowned off Loreto while on the way to California with supplies for the missions.

[65] Father Guillen of Zacetecas had been professor of philosophy in Mexico City prior to coming to California. He served 34 years on the peninsula.

[66] See account in Bancroft, *Nor. Mexican States and Texas*, pp. 425 ff. for these trying years at the Mission.

ised them he would arrange for some father missionaries to come and live among them, charging them strongly in the meantime to assemble at the nearest mission, that of the village of Los Angeles, close to Pitquin, and learn the catechism.

His invincible spirit overcame all obstacles. After the launch was floated he returned in it to California, with a goodly supply of corn and meat collected from the miners in the town of Guadalupe; and the launch remained so staunch and strong that it served for another ten years. Even though he so astutely procured the temporal relief without which it would have been impossible to maintain the missions, his principal task was to see to extending this body of converts, and to assist by his advice and presence, the new missions he was founding, and to see to the good government of those already founded. In all this he had much to endure, now in putting down sorcery, now in pacifying rebellions, which at the instigation of the devil frequently broke out to ruin this new Christian community. Then again he came to the aid of those whose boats while out pearl fishing were apt to sink in sight of land, by providing them as far as he was able with what they needed.

Father Juan María's labors were greatly increased and his ardent zeal and charity were more fully disclosed during his paternal affection by visiting the settlements of the Indians and providing them with what corporal aid he could, but still more in his case to confess the sick, aid the dying, bury the dead and baptize the young. Yet in the midst of so much work and apostolic labors, Father Juan María did not forget the goal he had been striving for since the beginning of the conquest, namely, to set out to explore and survey the Gulf

of Loreto. This he attempted numerous times but without any success whatsoever, because of the lack of necessary provisions and a proper ship. Then, after he had applied in the year 1714 to have a new ship built at the Port of Matanchel for this venture, it turned out to be constructed badly, owing to the meager intelligence of those who built it. On its maiden voyage, when it was already in sight of California, it was wrecked in a gentle wind. Father Benito Guisi, as we have said, perished on this occasion. This prevented the contemplated venture which God had reserved for the Apostolic Father Juan de Ugarte, who began the work, and for the Fathers Fernando Consag and Jacobo Sedelmayr, who at last made the discovery that California was not an island as people had thought, and as such was engraved on the maps, but a mainland and continent, although up to the present time it has not been possible to ascertain with what territory it is connected, until the Lord is pleased it shall be known for the extension of Our Holy Faith.

He was also extremely desirous of subjugating the Guaycura tribe in the southern part of this same California, a tribe which from the year 1683 had been extremely hostile and unfriendly toward the Spaniards, owing to the hostile attack made on them by Don Isidro de Atondo, who killed a number of Indians with a mortar he fired against them. This wounded them so badly that in the future they would not permit boats in search of pearls to anchor off their shores, starting out armed, as soon as any arrived, to drive them off. Nor during the twenty years the Faith had been planted in California were they willing to listen to them, nor to negotiate peace with the presidio, nor at the kindly instigation of

the Fathers to receive Holy Baptism. However, in the face of this exceedingly obstinate intractability, Father Juan María decided to test fortune by going by sea to visit them in May, 1716.[67]

He used as an excuse and pretext the return to them of three prisoners from their tribe who had been, for some time, in Loreto, with the idea that these would bear witness to the great love and charity with which the Fathers and soldiers of the presidio had treated them, so that they would lose their horror of the Spaniards and would humble themselves to receive the easy yoke of Our Holy Faith. But no gains resulted from this saintly undertaking, for the devil tried to prevent it by goading and harrassing the Indians of Loreto, who accompanied the Father. As soon as they landed, they recalled that these were their former enemies, and without heeding the orders of their captain, – nor was it in any way possible to restrain them, – they ran after the Guaycura Indians. Frightened by the bark's arrival, the natives had fled. They fell on the fugitives, and followed them even to their hiding places, wounding and killing as many as they could, chiefly women, who because of the frailty of their sex had been slowest in their flight.

After his ill success Father Juan María returned to Loreto, believing the time was not ripe to negotiate peace with the Indians who were frightened and terrorized at the havoc the Indians of Loreto had wrought, especially among their women. And it seems that he spoke with prophetic spirit when he said that God had reserved this undertaking for the Apostle of California,

[67] It was Father Ugarte, not Salvatierra who finally subdued this unfriendly tribe.

a name which is frequently given to Our Father Juan de Ugarte, who after many years succeeded in planting Our Holy Faith in this section of the South, which is fully referred to in the history of his life.

Upon Father Juan María's arrival at Loreto God desired further to test his patience by the loss of the boat, which was on its way from Matanchel loaded with the supplies and presents sent from Mexico City, and which was lost during a violent storm. Nine persons were drowned in the disaster, while the remainder escaped as best they could. Then God decided to relieve his servant of the burden of so many tribulations by calling him to eternal rest, as we shall see in the following chapters.

26: FATHER JUAN MARÍA IS SUMMONED TO MEXICO CITY, AND, GRIEVOUSLY ILL, REACHES GUADALAJARA

The three trips Father Juan María made into California consumed twenty years, counting from the time, when, under the guidance of God's protecting hand and that of his Holy Mother, he began this conquest, one which had been attempted so often before, and which even after the expenditure of millions of *pesos* had never succeeded. We have seen with what enormous toil and hardship he planted the banner of the cross in that uncivilized land, baptized countless children, converted many settlements to the brotherhood of our Holy Mother Church, and permanently established and endowed six missions, laying down the best possible regulations for the proper training of these Indians, not alone in what pertained to a sane and wholesome exist-

ence, but also as to the manner of instructing them in the mysteries of Our Faith and in proper behavior. This has been adhered to by the missionary Fathers in the aforesaid six missions, and in those later established, – up to the present time thirteen in number, – the fervor of the Jesuit missionaries having carried them over almost impossible mountains, peaks, crags and rugged country, from the North to the South, a distance of about 300 leagues.[68] Nor is it fair to refrain from mentioning that the first three were endowed by Brother Don Juan Caballero y Ocio, Commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition at Queretaro. Another was endowed with alms, collected from various benefactors, by the Venerable Father Joseph Vidal, prefect of the Congregation of the Sorrows of the Virgin of Maximus College in this city. Another was endowed by D. Luis de Velasco; still another by Don Nicolas de Arteaga; and a third, with his share of his inheritance, by Father Juan Bautista Luyando of Our Company. One more was endowed by Señora Dona Rosa de la Pena; while the worthy donor of the remainder was that great man, worthy of eternal memory, Don José de la Puente, Marquis de Villa-Puente, Knight of the Order of Santiago, and gentleman of His Majesty's bed chamber, whose very great wealth, even during his life-time, was dedicated, in its entirety, to God's service and glory, in the

[68] These were:

Loreto
Dolores del Sur
San Francisco Xavier
San Juan Londó
San Juan Bautista
Santa Rosalía
San José Commondú
La Purisima Concepcion
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe
San Ignacio
Nuestra Señora de Dolores del Sur
San José del Cabo
Todos Santos

Later were founded:
Santa Gertrudis
San Francisco Borja
Santa María

endowment of these missions already mentioned, and who also supported with large annual allowances, those of Asia, particularly in the vast empire of China.

While our Venerable servant of God, Father Juan María, was thus gloriously occupied in the conservation and augmentation of this new body of Christians in California he received an order from Father Gaspar Rodero, Provincial of this province, requesting him to come to Mexico City. The occasion for this was as follows: – Our King and Lord Philip V, even while embroiled with the heavy expense and entanglements of war, had issued several orders for aid and material assistance to be extended in California. Now, having been victorious over his enemies, he had returned to the Court of Madrid. Inasmuch as he could not find in the Royal Council of the Indies any provision for the carrying out of these royal orders, he promulgated a new decree concerning this, dated January 29, 1716, and intrusted its execution to the Marquis de Valero, whom he had named Viceroy of New Spain. The latter, as soon as he reached the country, communicated to the Father Provincial the instructions he had brought over, requesting him to call Father Juan María to Mexico City so that he might obtain accurate information concerning affairs in California and, by his presence and assistance, make it possible to reach an understanding in the general assembly as to what was wisest to do and what seemed most expedient.

Father Juan María received the Father Provincial's order in March, 1717, and although at the time he felt very indisposed he did not hesitate to start on a long and arduous journey over land and sea for the welfare and

promulgation of Christianity. Leaving in his place as superior of these missions, Father Juan de Ugarte, he set out from the Bay of Loreto on the Wednesday of the week before six days' festival of the Resurrection, March 31st of the same year, 1717. Inasmuch as he realized he was gravely ill with gravel which annoyed him constantly, he took with him Brother Jayme Bravo to assist him, and be his substitute in the event of his death, which actually occurred. Owing to favorable winds they anchored in the Port of Matanchel on the 18th of April. After experiencing the hardships of this voyage by sea and travel by land until he reached Tepique, his suffering from the gravel was so aggravated and took such a form that it was no longer possible for him to continue his journey in the regular manner, on horseback. Neither was he willing to remain in that locality, but insisted on fulfilling his obligations, and pressing on toward Mexico City to accomplish what he could for the spiritual and material welfare of his beloved Californians; so he had to be carried in a kind of portable hand litter, called in the language of the country *Tlapeztli* on the shoulder of Indians, whom the Brother accompanying him got hold of in the villages. And here one may see how greatly these villagers revered Father Juan María because of his reputation for extreme piety and apostolic fervor. For just as soon as they received the news of his coming and learned of the seriousness of his malady, the natives of these villages hastened to band themselves together, offering to convey him on their shoulders to the next village, where they took leave of him, displaying their reverence and veneration for him by kissing his hands and robe. In some localities the Indians crawled on their knees from the door of the

room or hall up to the bed in which the Father lay, where they kissed his hand and received his blessing. Yet the very humble Father attributed these expressions of reverence and veneration not to his own merits, but to the good training of the priests who, he felt, had ably instructed the Indians in the respect they should show toward the priesthood.

Nor were the inhabitants of Guadalajara less demonstrative. As soon as it was known in the city that he was in the vicinity all the inhabitants assembled to go out and welcome him, great crowds gathering to see him, expressing deep sympathy when they saw the extreme suffering and dangerous condition of their old beloved Father. And all vied one with another to be allowed to assume what was to them the very light task of carrying him, those considering themselves very fortunate who were able to lend a shoulder to the *Tlapeztli* in which the Holy Father was carried. Accompanied by this devoted retinue he reached the city and our college, where he requested them first to carry him to the church, and the chapel and the Holy House of Loreto, erected by this same Father when he served as rector of the college. According to the schedule, since it was Saturday, and nine o'clock in the morning, they had just finished the mass that was sung there every Saturday, and were now commencing to sing the Litany of Our Lady, a custom which Father Juan María had originally established. The litany ended, he chanted the hymn *Ave Maria Stella* so feelingly and with such a show of devotion, that all who were present were greatly moved and edified. Immediately after he gave thanks to the Most Holy Mother of Loreto for having brought him to die at this college, and in the shelter of her Holy

patronage. Then he had them carry him to his chamber, which they had prepared for him, and where he was received by the Father Rector Thomas de la Jara and the rest of the Fathers and Brothers of the college, with great demonstrations of charity, and at the same time compassion and sadness at seeing him suffering so keenly from the excruciating pains of the gravel.

Scarcely had they laid him down and made him comfortable on his bed, and brought him something to eat, when the city's most illustrious members began to visit him. Without delay there came to see him the Lord Bishop Don Fray Manuel de Mimbela, President Don Thomas Teran de los Rios, the Judges of the Royal Audiencia, the Probendaries of the Ecclesiastical chapter of the College, as well as the entire Council of the City, the Prelates of the Holy Orders, and other gentlemen who were important citizens, all of whom expressed the veneration and esteem they felt toward him. And what all admired was that in spite of his suffering from gravel, – as acute as anything the human body can endure, – Father Juan María was yet as serene as if he was not thus afflicted, continuously showing complete submission to the will of God.

This extraordinary serenity of spirit had at the time another and a hidden significance; not divulged until after his death by the members of the college, whence it came to the attention of the entire province. This was the fact that the Most Holy Virgin had deigned to visit him, encouraging him to be patient in his sufferings, assuring him that, in spite of any trepidation that might come over him, within a very short time he would pass on to enjoy the manifold blessings of eternal bliss. His spirit fortified by this visitation he bore his illness brave-

ly, as though he were not suffering from the excruciating pains of gravel, which grew more and more acute as his vitality noticeably declined and he grew weaker. Then, realizing that death was approaching, he summoned his Companion, Brother Jayme Bravo, and delegated to him the authority to conduct negotiations with the viceroy in Mexico concerning affairs relating to California, giving him instructions to do whatever he deemed expedient for the conservation and promotion of Christianity. And he particularly charged him to be humble and submissive toward the Father Provincial, accounting to him in all things, and submitting to his guidance whenever doubts and difficulties should arise.

27: HIS SUFFERING GROWS MORE INTENSE AND, AFTER RECEIVING THE SACRAMENTS, HE DIES A HOLY DEATH IN THE COLLEGE OF GUADALAJARA

As soon as Father Juan María had arrived so grievously ill at the College of Guadalajara, the Father rector and the other members of the College took great pains to be of service to him, doing everything in their power for his recovery, or at least to alleviate to some extent his sufferings. A conference was immediately held by the physicians, who, although, after being informed of the serious nature and long duration of his malady they despaired of his life, nevertheless arranged to apply to him all the remedies of which they had any knowledge, testing their skill to secure if possible some respite from the acute pains from which he suffered. At the same time many prayers, rogations, and sermons were offered in the churches of the city for his

recovery. But God Our Lord, who desired now to give him the reward merited by the apostolic labors and heroic virtues of this His Servant, decreed that his malady should reach its crisis, whereupon the Doctors declared unanimously that now the Holy Sacrament should be administered. For this he needed no special preparation other than what he had always been accustomed to, as he had always confessed himself as if he were on the point of dying.

But before they gave him the viaticum the Father rector gave orders for the sacred image of Our Lady of Loreto to be brought out of her tabernacle, and carried in procession to the room occupied by the Father. Accompanied by great crowds who had gathered, it was so brought. Then it was placed in the Father's room on a very suitable altar which had previously been prepared for it. And at the sight of it the great servant and devotee of Mary, transported by his feeling of profound humility and love, explained in the words of Saint Elizabeth when Our Lady visited her on the mountains of Judea: "Whence this favor to me that my Lord's mother should come to me?" Then he added these words:

O Great Mother is it possible that for me they have taken you from your throne, and from your sanctuary? For me, who am a poor sinner and who has never merited such favor? And have they brought you to this filthy room, polluted by an unclean invalid

Whereupon he turned to the Father rector and the other Fathers, saying, "Fathers, the image of the Madonna would do better and be more suitably placed in her Holy House and throne than here." And so he begged them to return her thither. But the Fathers replied that it was very proper for the Great Mother to visit and help him at this time, particularly in so dan-

gerous a crisis, since His Reverence had been the one who had built her Holy House in this church, and by his influence had increased the worship of the Great Lady of Loreto throughout the city.

With this his humility was quieted and with what seemed to be a prophetic spirit he said: "The devotion of the Virgin of Loreto will increase and will be very much greater in the future when I find myself, as I hope to do, before her presence in Heaven." After his death this was fulfilled. For the lawyers of the Royal Audiencia made a vow to celebrate the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, which is the titular of the House of Loreto, binding themselves by a written document to celebrate this feast in her holy house annually, bearing the expense of this feast every year in the order of their seniority, and all assisting as one body. In addition to this, the Royal Audiencia chose the Great Lady of Loreto as their patron, agreeing to assist in a body annually on her feast-day.

Then, after placing the Holy Image on the altar which had been prepared for her, they administered by means of the viaticum the Eucharist and afterwards the extreme-unction to Father Juan María who, being in full possession of his faculties and with signs of extreme devotion, replied to the prayers prepared by the Holy Church for these occasions. Afterwards he remained in a deep silence, communing alone with God, and giving Him thanks for His boundless mercies. He was attended continuously night and day by the Fathers of the College, and one night when death was near Father Roque de Yragorri, who had remained to watch over him and keep him company, heard him break into a great sigh. He at once came near to see if he had need

of anything, for he reasoned and feared that this loud sigh sprang from some dread caused by the approach of death. So he tried to comfort him by telling him to fortify his heart with the hope that within a short time he would receive the reward for all he had done and suffered that he might secure the salvation of souls. To which with accents of profound humility he replied, "Ah, Father Roque, if God Our Lord does not give me the gift of Heaven, I have already been well rewarded for what I have done for God which had been very little, for I rather am the debtor for His benefactions." By the weight of such profound humility, a certain strength was given his spirit, so that it would not be lost in sight of the door of eternity, for his hope was founded solely on God's mercy, that salvation would be given him, by Christ's promise in the Apocalypse, that he would give the thirsty to drink at the fountain of the water of life.

Now his malady having grown steadily worse until it had reached its crisis, the members of the college gathered together to give the recommendation of his soul; and the Father, who still retained full possession of his inner consciousness, heard them with full attention and devotion. This took place on Friday evening of the 17th of July. Then at 9 o'clock of that same evening his death agonies began, lasting until two o'clock Saturday morning. At this hour, moved by the especial love and devotion he had invariably felt for the Holy Virgin, whose image of Loreto he had there before him, looking at it tenderly, he commenced as best he could to chant the hymn *Ave Maria Stella.* Upon arriving at the verse: Show that thou art mother, he stopped speaking and ceased to live, delivering up his spirit into the

hands of God, through the medium of his Most Pure Mother. His happy death took place on the 18th of July, of the year 1717, when he was 68 years and 8 months of age. He had been in the Company 50 years, 30 of them as "Professed of the Four Vows." These were spent in the Tarahumares missions, and in the conquest, conservation, and development of California.

And it is particularly worth noting that, at the same hour in which Father Juan María's death agonies began, which, as we have said, was at nine in the evening, – there descended on the City of Guadalajara a violent tempest with flashes of lightning, thunderbolts, heavy showers and strong winds, lasting five hours up to two o'clock in the morning, the hour of the death of the Venerable Father.

Furthermore, although the City of Guadalajara lies in a region which of all North America is most liable to storms, heavy claps of thunder and continuous flashes of lightning, all the inhabitants declared they had never witnessed another tempest like it. Now, in the city, the consensus of opinion was that the demons who were moved by rage and fury that Father Juan María was going now to enjoy the fruits of his apostolic labors, and that devotion to the Virgin Mary should have been so greatly stimulated in the city, showed this in setting up these noises, aiming to spread fear and dismay in the same city.

Scarcely had the day of the 18th dawned when the tolling of the bells throughout the city gave notice of the death of the Venerable Father. And inasmuch as the inhabitants of Guadalajara had had almost no sleep, and had not been able to take any rest owing to their terror from the aforesaid tempest, there was a very gen-

eral movement, such as had never been witnessed there before, of people from all ranks coming to venerate his dead body. To the clanging of our bells was immediately added those of the cathedral, joined in by all the churches, nunneries and parishes. Whereupon the inhabitants, deeply stirred by the continuous and united ringing of bells by all the churches, came out of their houses and raised their voices in a confused outcry and in heartfelt lamentations, expressing the poignancy of their sorrow in these words:

> The Saint now is dead, the Apostle now is dead, the Beloved Servant of Mary now is dead, the Holy Missionary, the Apostolic Conqueror of California, the Father of the Poor and the Benefactor of the City, now is dead.

And they ran in crowds to venerate the one whom now they could no longer see alive. When they reached our college, the body of the deceased was already laid out on its bier, dressed in its sacerdotal ornaments, in the lecture-hall or theological room. Here they entered with due decorum, and ventured to kiss his feet and hands and touch his rosary. But since all desired to preserve, by means of some relic, the memory of so saintly a man, the devotees proceeded with shocking impropriety, to cut the hair from his head with scissors, and to tear into shreds his vestments, white gown and amice. Nor did they spare his shoes, hose and cassock, while the Fathers of the college were helpless to check these demonstrations, either by pleas, or by entreaties or threats or by any forcible violence.

When the Father rector saw this, and realized that as time went on the concourse of people was bound to grow greater, he decided to hasten the burial, which

was held the same morning. For this reason, and to enable them again to shroud the corpse it was removed from sight, and the crowds in our churches were told where they could see it again at the time of its burial. This took place about 10 o'clock of that day, and was attended, – without invitation, – by the Very Illustrious Bishop D. Fr. Manuel de Mimbela, with all his venerable colleagues, by the President, together with the Royal Audiencia, by all the other religious orders, by the City Officials, with the usual Judges and Aldermen, carrying their maces, in due form; and finally by the entire nobility, together with a great gathering of the common people. All of these made a very brilliant, although mournful procession, the saintly body being carried by the Prelates of Our Order, the City Aldermen, and other very distinguished personages.

The vigil ended, and mass sung, which was held in the Cathedral chapel, the corpse was carried to the tomb, which had been opened in the chancel. And here for a second time a great commotion was made by the multitudes, neither the presence of the Illustrious Prelate, who was a member of this same presbytery, nor the diligency of the Fathers, being sufficient to restrain them, for again they attempted to despoil it, removing shoes, stockings and cassock, even to the belt. And they would have gone still further had the church officials not forcibly taken the corpse and placed it in the box that had already been prepared, closed the lid and immediately lowered it into the sepulchre. Thereupon the crowd dispersed, all proclaiming the virtues of the Venerable Father, and with one accord hailing him as a Saint.

28: THE CITY OF GAUDALAJARA PAYS SOLEMN HONOR TO THE DEPARTED FATHER, WHO, AFTER SOME YEARS, IS REMOVED TO THE HOLY HOUSE OF LORETO

The very noble and loyal city of Guadalajara, not content with having been present as a body, although without special invitation, at the burial of Our Father Juan María de Salvatierra, was anxious to give further evidence of the sincere appreciation and esteem they had for his saintly character. At a meeting in the hall of the chapel it was decided to celebrate his memory with solemn rites in the church of our college. After obtaining Father Rector Thomas de la Jara's consent, the Aldermen immediately began to make what preparations were necessary to do him honor. They chose for orator of the occasion one who could show forth Father Juan María's virtues and apostolic labors, Father Feliciano Pimental, Professed of the Four Vows, and a citizen well-known throughout the province, and particularly in the city of Guadalajara.[69] Here he had resided for a number of years, having acquired a name for virtue, benevolence and prudence, and had very zealously conducted the Company's business. At his instigation, and under his direction and continuous zeal over a period of years was founded the most religious house of Augustine Recoletas, in which Guadalajara was fortunate in having a most valuable convent of the loftiest perfection.

Immediately there was erected in the center of the largest chapel a magnificent and lofty bier, adorned on all sides with wax tapers and candelebra, which held

[69] Father Feliciano Pimental 1661-1733 was a professor of philosophy at Guadalajara, where he knew Salvatierra in the college. *Bib. Hisp. Am.*, vol. ii, p. 127.

tapers and huge candles to be burned. Then, to make the affair still more impressive, the President and all the members of the Royal Audiencia were invited, together with the entire priesthood, and numerous clergy, who, robed in surplices and bonnets, lent still more brilliancy to the occasion. In the evening two Aldermen, representing the Noble Ayuntamiento, called upon His Excellency, the Bishop, to give him an account of the solemn function that had been arranged for the following day. But before they had a chance to express the wishes of the city that His Excellency should honor the occasion by officiating and chanting the Pontifical mass, His Highness volunteered his services for this purpose, mentioning only this drawback that since the church had been for so short a time in their possession, and since a similar occasion had not previously arisen, he did not have black pontifical robes suitable for the funeral. Yet the Aldermen, who were desirous that such an event should not be lacking in any detail, pledged themselves, in the name of the city, to deliver to His Excellency on the following morning the said Pontifical robes. To fulfill this promise they at once called together in one room the chief master tailors, and delivered to them the black cloth and material necessary for making the gowns. All applied themselves to this with such good-will that they worked the entire night, and delivered their work finished and in perfect condition in the morning.

And so, a few days after the novenary of the requiem mass, which was held in our chapel, the obsequies were celebrated on the appointed day, which had scarcely dawned when crowds of people were already seen in the streets, coming to find room in our church. But the city

as well as ourselves had been warned by previously experiencing the disturbance and commotion of the populace on the burial day; and accordingly, with wise foresight, arranged to station guards of soldiers at the door of our church and college, who had orders not to admit any except such as had some special reason for being given preference, afterwards permitting the populace freely to enter.

General notice was given of these services on the evening of the previous day, by the solemn and combined tolling of bells in all the churches, starting with those of the cathedral. When the hour arrived solemn services were held with music and singers from the cathedral, the Most Illustrious Bishop, assisted by two dignitaries of his church, afterwards chanting the Pontifical mass, with as much pomp and majesty as would be displayed in the obsequies of some deceased monarch. Mass ended, Father Feliciano Pimental took the pulpit and, after briefly giving thanks to the very noble city for having deigned to honor a member of the Company, he entered upon a lengthened eulogy of Father Juan María de Salvatierra's apostolic zeal and heroic virtues, illustrating his remarks with special incidents in his career. And they listened to him so attentively and with such interest that, in spite of the fact that the sermon lasted for two hours, to none did it seem long; and all felt when it ended that they wished to testify to their admiration by hearing more and more about the incidents of his life. What I can testify to, is, that, throughout the city, there was left, and still remains, a very fresh recollection of Father Salvatierra as a saintly man, a perfect Christian, a faithful servant of the Lord, a Holy Apostle, and a devoted lover of the Most Saintly

Mary, whose adoration he spread abroad with such infinite pains in the city and also throughout all of New Spain.

On the day when they buried Father Juan María's remains, the Bishop, who had been advised that the box which had been prepared was made of very ordinary lumber, in order that he might be buried with more propriety, had them make another box of cedar, lined inside with sheets of lead to keep out the dampness. This was arranged in this wise and, four days after his burial, and well into the night, to avoid any disturbances of demonstrations on the part of the populace, they opened the sepulchre, and the box in which he had previously been buried. Then to the wonder of all, not only did they find the corpse fully intact, but also flexible and moveable as if it were still alive. But what caused the greatest astonishment was that the deceased was still warm, even the ground underneath the sepulchre sharing in this warmth. Again it was necessary to dress the body owing to the ravages made by the indiscreet devotees on the burial day. Then, with due decorum, they placed it in the new box, adding a cover of lead bearing the inscription testifying that the corpse was that of Our Father Juan María de Salvatierra. After covering the box with its lid, they lowered it into the sepulchre where it had previously been buried.

Eight years after his death and burial, as the Father Provincial Gaspar Rodero was visiting the college of Guadalajara, he remembered that, when Father Juan María had been provincial, he had ordered the remains of his saintly and very beloved Companion, Father Juan Bautista Zappa, brought from the college of Xalmolongo, where he had died, to be laid in the chapel

of the saintly house of Loreto, built under his direction in our church of San Gregorio in Mexico. Now he thought it would be very proper for Father Juan María de Salvatierra's bones to rest in the chapel and saintly house of Loreto, built by this same Father in our college of Guadalajara, so that his dead body could repose in the same place where his heart had been in his lifetime. In conformity with the Father Provincial's order, a sepulchre was prepared (at night and with the utmost secrecy) in the chancel of the holy house and chapel, in which to lay the deceased Father. Upon opening the old sepulchre and the box in which he had been laid away, they found that at the end of eight years, the venerable personage's remains were still intact, and not in any way decomposed; and after closing the box they placed it in its new sepulchre. Later on Father Felipe Badillo, rector of the College, realizing that the place was very damp, and for this reason the dead body could not be prevented from decomposure, arranged for it to be placed in a drier spot. But after the sepulchre and box were opened they found that the body had been reduced to a skeleton, all the flesh was consumed, and only the surplice, cassock and maniple had escaped injury. Thereupon they gathered all bones together in a smaller box, and placed it in a fireplace or niche of the sacred building called "Santo Camino" in Italy, which was underneath the sacred image of the Lady of Loreto. There the remains of the Venerable Father Juan María de Salvatierra repose, in the shadow of the Most Holy Virgin, until the day arrives when the Blessed shall rise again and the body shall share the eternal reward in proportion to the hardships it suffered when alive on behalf of the glory of God and the service of the Most Holy Mother.

BOOK II

1: REGARDING THE DEPTH OF FAITH AND STEADFAST HOPE OF FATHER JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA

These glorious undertakings in which, after overcoming stupendous obstacles, Father Juan María succeeded in extending God's glory and the salvation of souls, could never have been fulfilled had they not been inspired by a faith which realized God is to be served, loved, and glorified, and how precious are those souls whom Christ redeemed at the infinite cost of his blood. This keen faith was warmed by the constant use of prayer, meditation, and the reading of spiritual books which dwell upon the infinite excellencies of God, His divine being and attributes, and the perfection of Christ in his holy life, passion, and death. Nor was he content to give to these spiritual exercises only the time prescribed by our rules, but he employed for them what moments remained free after his official duties and the calls of human brotherhood.[70] Not only did he give his most careful attention to these exercises in the colleges

[70] Henri Joli, in his *St. Ignatius of Loyola*, p. 37, defines these famous exercises as a series of prayers, meditations, resolutions, and pious actions divided into several weeks, and arranged on a strict plan. He also quotes the description Ignatius gives of them that "as walking, marching, and running are bodily exercises, so the different methods of preparing and disposing the soul to get rid of all its ill-regulated affections and after having got rid of them, to seek and find the will of God in the ordering of its life, with the object of securing its salvation, are called 'spiritual exercises'." These were compiled by St. Ignatius, and later revised and published, with the approbation of the Holy See, in 1548.

where there is a bell that summons, and a visitor who supervises, but also in the missions, and in the fields and during the many journeys he made by land and sea. Many times he was forced to sleep in the fields, mountains, or other places which were uninhabited. Yet he did not, because of this, neglect his devotions. Before day dawned he was already on his knees meditating and praying for more than an hour, with as much tranquility and calmness as if he had no walking before him and nothing else to do.

His morning's prayer ended he lived at his devotions without abandoning them, for he continued them throughout the day, remaining, even in the midst of his occupations, in the presence of God and in the spiritual communion with Him. Through this exercise his faith was strengthened, since he remained always in the sight of God, just as if he could see him; and to the Lord he confided his troubles and communicated his hopes and the needs of his neighbors. From this was born that modest composure which marked him at all times as one who lived constantly in the presence of God. Yet withal he did not fail to manifest to those with whom he came in contact a happiness so loving, affectionate, and affable that several have remarked that only to see and meet Father Salvatierra was to be enamored of his virtues and holiness.

An important incentive to instilling and inspiring faith in the divine mysteries was his habit of dwelling on them in the explanations he gave to the children and uneducated ones, of the Christian doctrine. It was an apostolic task in which he persevered the entire fifty years he spent in the Company. During the period of his novitiate he went with some of his fellow-novices,

at the request of his master and superior to deliver lectures on this subject to those who lived in the country. In his student days when he was free from his scholastic duties he expounded it in the streets and public places as well as in the prisons and hospitals.

This, too, was one of the flowers he invariably offered to the Most Holy Virgin on Sundays; and one of the novenas, since he made it a duty on festival days in honor of the Great Lady to explain the doctrine to the poor and those who had need of it. In this way he paid homage to the Virgin, and gained thereby an added reverence for the divine truths and mysteries.

Later, during the years he spent in the Tarahumara missions, and the twenty in those of California, his principal occupation consisted in explaining the mysteries of the Faith, as contained in the Christian doctrine, to the children, catechumens, and older Christians; a precedent which, being established has been preserved up to the present time in these missions. In these it became the custom, week after week, for the Indian villagers to gather together in the locality where the Father missionary happened to be and where, throughout the entire week, they were given lectures and explanations of the Christian doctrine, with all the other things Christians should know so as to gain salvation.

Still further did he revive his faith in the eternal truths and divine mysteries in the days when, once a year, he retired to engage in the exercises of Our Patron Saint Ignatius, when the devout meditate on these truths and mysteries with greater privacy and calmness, and draw up sincere and noble resolutions to abandon and renounce all worldly things, and to aspire only to

the eternity of heaven. Now this much is certain: that if the majority of men live unmindful of their salvation and the end for which God created them it is because the faith, through which as Christians they believe in the eternal truths, is a faith which, if not dead, is deadened. And in a letter which he wrote to his close friend and benefactor, the attorney Don Joseph Miranda, he tells him that he has just completed his annual devotions at Loreto and that, although he was an old man, he had come out from them with great enthusiasm. Hence he is led to infer that His Lordship, being younger, should be able to offer them with even greater fervor once a year; and derive much comfort from them. This, he felt certain, would be an incentive in many parts of Italy for many of the robe and distinguished persons to retire once a year and offer in our colleges the exercises of St. Ignatius. Even though the seed of this holy advice did not bear fruit immediately, since the attorney was deeply engrossed with the many duties of his office, yet he afterward decided to undertake them, and wrote to Father Juan María that the beginning of the exercises had been to him like hell, the middle like purgatory, and the end like a paradise of pleasure. So fond did he grow of them that, from this time on, he undertook them annually and reserved, once a day, an hour for mental prayer. From this he derived so much profit in the course of his lifetime that after his death he was held in such high esteem because of his extraordinary virtue that the President and Royal Audiencia thought it proper to honor his obsequies and funeral with a sermon, which was later printed and which extolled his remarkable character as being that of an exemplary holy man and a proper model for a

royal minister. This information has seemed to me worthy of note in this history of Father Juan María de Salvatierra, in as much as the attorney was his worthy benefactor and since, through his influence, the promotion and promulgation in California of Christianity were materially aided.

Through this same medium of prayer and meditation, during which he contemplated God's infinite mercy, and what Jesus Christ endured and suffered to save men, there was born in him the ardent longing to attain the ultimate goal for which God had created him. And as soon as he had the full use of his reasoning faculties he began to aspire and hope to attain the acme of good. This increased in proportion to his years, particularly after he entered the Company; and although in all his acts he endeavored to glorify God, yet, at the same time, he tried to make it more and more certain that he would gaze upon him eternally, although he was distrustful of himself and depended on God, and the merits of Jesus Christ as if, for his part, he had done nothing. What a wonderful thing that so holy a man, who, from his earliest years had given himself entirely to God and had renounced the advantages which his noble birth could have secured for him, should have dedicated himself to the service of God in the Company, and have spent more than thirty years in attempting, at the cost of infinite labor and danger to his life, to convert the heathen. Nevertheless, he did not trust in his merits, so that, at the end of his life he protested that if God did not give him as a gift the reward of Heaven, towards which all his energies were directed, he had no right to ask for it. And so he relied on God alone to secure and attain beatitude.

For since he knew that he merited nothing by his deeds, he tried to attain what he desired through the favor of the Most Holy Virgin, and the saints of his devotions, as well as through the prayers of the faithful upon earth, which he took care to procure. What he particularly desired, in addition to his own salvation, was that of his fellow-men, especially of the Californians. And being instructor of novices, he continuously urged the children, whom he regarded as so many Angels, to implore God to convert these uncivilized peoples. In one of these letters dated October 30, 1696, he wrote to an intimate friend the following:

> To-day we begin the forty days' fast of the Immaculate Conception. And all the Angels are very much in sympathy with me. Then, through the intercession of prayers which they offer to the Immaculate Virgin in behalf of the Poor Californians the Virgin will remove the original stain, through the medium of holy baptism, from a large part of the people. So, my dear friends, have good courage until you die because we have a Good Mother, and She will do everything in order that we may all be Hers.

He repeats this same thing in various letters he wrote to persons both inside and outside the Company, requesting them to aid him with their prayers so that he might carry out his undertakings. And so confident was he of accomplishing this that even when he saw all hell had united to restrain him, he looked at it and treated it as a very glorious undertaking which he was certain and very sure to accomplish, as he actually did accomplish it when human hope considered it an impossibility; but he overcame the impossible by relying on divine hope as opposed to human hopes.

2: CONCERNING HIS ARDENT AFFECTION FOR GOD

To endure and to suffer much for the loved one are the distinctive proofs of true love. And so it may readily be seen how ardent was the love Father Juan María had for God, when we consider how much he did, and how much he suffered for God. Throughout his entire apostolic life nought else is visible than a continual exercise of holy deeds. And especially after he became aware that missionaries belonging to this Company were laboring in Oriental India to convert the Gentiles did he yearn to become one of these, and begin to apply himself diligently to the practice of virtue, so that he might become fitted for such ministrations.

After he entered the Company all his acts were directed to the glorification of God, while his love for God governed him in all things. Whether studying, conferring, or debating in the schools, all was for love of God. Whether eating, sleeping, resting, or indulging in ordinary recreations, he had no other aim than to please God, and to do His will in all things. When engaged in assisting his fellowmen – acting as a confessor, preacher, or expounder of the Christian doctrine to children and untutored people, visiting the sick and the prisoners, and giving the last rites to the dying – these tasks were inspired by his love for God that He might be glorified.

Nevertheless all this was not enough to fill the profound depths of his heart. His fervent spirit yearned for wider fields; to enlist many followers of God, who might render devoted homage to His greater glory. With this end in view, he earnestly implored the superiors to send him to the missions of the Gentiles; and

after many prayers and penitences he obtained this coveted permission. After arriving in the country of the Tarahumares, he worked as an apostolic missionary, as has already been mentioned. But when the time arrived to undertake the conquest of California this was where his magnanimous heart expanded to perform such arduous tasks and such heroic achievements, which were held by ordinary people to be impossible but which were not so to one who was clothed with divine virtue and love of God and who found himself aflame with good-will and love toward God, impelling him to the most arduous enterprises for His greater glorifications.

And if Father Juan María did much to prove his love for God, none the less he suffered greatly showing thereby that his love was strong, firm, and steadfast. For he had to face many adversities, trials, and tribulations which were visited upon him to keep him from all these activities, or retard his cherished design of promoting the worship of God and his Mother, so that sinners might not displease Him, the just might love Him, the gentiles might be converted.

We have already hinted how much he had to suffer and endure when he canvassed the streets and homes in Mexico City begging alms for the building of the Holy House of Loreto in the church of San Gregorio. Some did not hesitate to say that there were artful tricks of avarice concealed under a cloak of devotion; and others intimated that Mexico City had enough temples to promote the adoration of Our Lady so that there was no need to molest one's neighbors in order to build new churches.

Even more trying were the insults he had to endure when he went out to ask alms for the Conquest of Cali-

fornia. For, since the funds he was able to gather from the poor were not sufficient, he was forced to visit the houses of the very wealthy. In many of these the only alms he received were reproaches and insults that were thrown at him. Others endeavored to dissuade him from an undertaking which, though it had been tried many times before at very great cost, had never succeeded. Yet, in the midst of all this, the loving heart of Juan María was undismayed, for his love and affection toward God were, as the Apostle St. Paul defined it, a love that suffered all, hoped for all, and with courage conquered all.

Eventually he overcame everything that stood in the way of his apostolic intentions, and he continued to conquer for a period of twenty years, while his life was constantly exposed to danger by land and sea, from cold and hunger, and from attacks by the Gentiles, in order to promote God's glory in the uncivilized territory of California. It is sufficient to quote here a sermon preached in his honor by Father Feliciano Pimental, who knew Father Juan María intimately, being his subordinate in the college at Guadalajara, later serving for a long period as procurator for the missions in California. It was to this effect:

> That Father Juan María, from the time he left his own province for this one, up to the time of his death walked 38,000 leagues, many of them on foot, the rest riding on such inferior and uncomfortable animals that he was greatly fatigued when he travelled many times over rough country and uninhabited mountains, and more often by sea exposing his life to repeated risks and the danger of storm and shipwrecks.

This will not seem strange when one considers how many journeys he made and duplicated in New Spain,

to all the California missions, as well as those on the mainland. It is clearly asserted in a letter which this same Father Juan María wrote, that in the round trip he made with Father Francisco Eusebio Kino in search of a long passage to California he walked 800 leagues.[71] It is certain that he visited all our missions, when he was sent out by the Father Provincial as visitor-general for three years, and that during this time he walked 4,000 leagues or more. It is certain that when he was provincial he visited the Colleges in the province, and in going and coming he journeyed some 600 leagues. And also in the three trips he made from Mexico City to California, he travelled both going and coming, more than three thousand leagues. And finally it is certain that in the ten years he was a missionary among the Tarahumares and in the twenty in California he was continually moving over land and sea so that there was never a year when he did not undertake one or more journeys, now to solicit alms in the mainland missions, in towns having mines in the vicinity, and ranches under cultivation where cattle were raised, now for the important business that pertained to the administration of the missions, such as making new discoveries, founding new missions, and visiting those already founded, during this time he had much to endure for the love of God, since all the country was mountainous, very rough, and full of barrancas and gulleys. Nevertheless whatever adversity, hardships or danger arose did not dampen the fire of the good-will and love with which he sought in all things the greater glory of God.

[71] This is the trip he made in the spring of 1701. See Kino's *Memoir of Pimería Alta*, vol. i, 265, 271.

3: HIS GLOWING AFFECTION AND DEVOTION, ESPECIALLY FOR JESUS, AND HIS MOST HOLY MOTHER

Since the sacred Humanity of Jesus is the gateway which leads to the sanctuary of Godhead so, in order to read this, it is necessary to pass first through another, that of Mary, the Most Holy Mother of Jesus. Both of these gateways Father Juan María had ever eagerly before him, endeavoring by his love and devotion to Jesus and Mary to succeed in engulfing himself in the immense sea of Divinity. The depth of his affection and devotion to Jesus and Mary is first manifested by his own words. For if it is a divine saying that out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaks, it will be easily understood how steadfastly Father Juan María's heart abounded in love for Jesus and for his Most Holy Mother through the words to which he frequently gave expression. In all his conversations, as well as in his letters these were his spontaneous utterances:

Long live Jesus, long live Mary.

At other times he said:

We serve good Masters. There is little enough we can do to please them. And whatever we can do is nothing at all in return for the love and benefits we receive from them.

Furthermore, he never missed a chance of speaking of their excellencies and virtues, and this he did with such devotion, tenderness, and fervor that even when he was a student those who wished to be fired with love for Jesus and Mary purposely begged to join him during this daily period of rest and recreation, for they admitted they emerged more refreshed than from more silent and secluded prayer. The same thing happened when, upon the completion of his studies, he dedicated

himself to the apostolic service of the missions, and during this time he devoted himself, as he was requested to do, to the government of the provinces and colleges. Particularly was this the case when he was rector at Tepotzotlan and master of novices, whom he wished to make into holy men, and whom he tried to feed with the milk of devotion and love of Jesus and Mary. There are two spiritual topics which our masters of novices discuss each week in chapel to the audiences. Of these the first is always about the love of Jesus: the second about the love of Mary. Nor did he, because of this, neglect those duties which our Rules impose on a master of novices. It is sufficient to know that in his sermons and exhortations he gave instruction in all the religious customs and observances contained in our Rules, and the chief points of our Institute. In this way he held up to his novices the model and example of Jesus and of Mary for he always meant they should imitate them in all their virtues. These he discussed one by one in his sermons, now poverty, now humility, now obedience, now mortification, and other similar virtues in the domain of morals and religion as well as of theology and of divinity. After first explaining to them to what an extent Jesus and Mary surpassed and led the way in these virtues, he went on to analyze the particular virtue which he was explaining, with all its parts and functions, and roused them with the profound words and authority of the Holy Scriptures and Holy Fathers. He encouraged them to practice it with such happy results that the novitiate seemed to be primarily a home for Angels, servants of Jesus and Mary, who had no other thought but to love, serve and imitate them.

Yet this same tender care which Father Juan María

JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA

Portrayed with staff, cross, and image of Our Lady of Loreto that accompanied him on all his journeys

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took in raising his novices with the milk of devotion and love for Jesus and Mary, he also gave to all his associates from the moment he came into contact with them in his dealings with our Institute. It is likewise known that in those years when he read and taught rhetoric in his home province of Milan, not only did he attempt to instruct in the rules of grammar, oratory, and poetry, but he laid even greater stress on the obligations of Christians; and in order to persuade them to practise virtue he resorted to the medium of love for Jesus and Mary, teaching them to offer flowers in her honor, of which we shall speak later. In this way he succeeded in getting great fervor and spiritual growth in these tender plants.

Later, when he taught rhetoric for a year in Puebla, he took so much pains with the good training of youths, encouraging them to have love and devotion for Jesus and Mary, that his reputation spread throughout the city. Dr. D. Manuel Fernandez of Santa Cruz, when he heard of it, begged the Father Provincial to send him to Puebla for a revival meeting in that diocese, so that he might inspire all of his flock with love for Jesus and Mary. He was unable to put this into effect, however, since Father Juan María was already on his way to the Tarahumara missions.

As rector of the college at Guadalajara we have already seen to what a degree he promoted devotion to the Most Holy Virgin there, building and solemnly dedicating the chapel and house of Loreto. To show how much devotion to the Most Holy Mary was increased through his efforts at Guadalajara it will suffice at this point, to give the testimony in writing of Bachelor D. Christobal de Mazariegos, president of the venerable

congregation of the oratory of S. Felipe Neri, who writes as follows:

Such was the devotion Father Juan María had for our Lady, the Virgin Mary, which was his theme, that from that time (that is, when he was rector of this city), there was kindled the staunch devotion to Her which is present to-day in that city. This is also affirmed by Bishop Cervantes, who christened Guadalajara Mary's city, where devotion was so firmly rooted by Father Juan María's constant exhortations, novenas, sermons, feasts and frequent sacrements that from that time on his memory endured throughout the city. Still more was this the case in the holy house of Loreto, which was built at the instigation of this same Venerable Father, as is a well known and established fact. This house and chapel, I have heard it said at the time, was aided by the Angels, for the work progressed so rapidly that in little more than a year the house and chapel were completed. And since the Angels had not helped them with material for the church it was seen to pass that at night the women from the town carried the stones, while the men, during the day, when they saw the example the Father set carrying stones, mortar, and materials, gathered together like ants to help him.

The foregoing testimony has been cited so that it may be known how the heart laden with the fullness of love for Mary could inspire in others devotion for Her.

Nor did he fail to promote and encourage in Guadalajara this love and devotion to Jesus and Mary. Father Feliciano Pimental testified this fact in a sermon that he preached in honor of this staunch servant of God. These are his words:

When one of the teachers of grammar in the College was absent for some reason, Father Juan María, who was then rector, not wishing to put any additional burden on any other Father in the house, undertook to act as substitute for many days in instructing the class. And having come to the period of so-called "half-lessons" when the time schedule which held for the rest of the year was shortened, and the students were allowed to have some suitable games and congenial

recreation within the precincts of the college, the Fathers noticed that even after the bell had sounded, the boys did not go out to amuse themselves. When asked the reason, the boys replied that they took so much of pleasure in hearing what the Father rector had to say in class that afterwards it made them sad when they were obliged to go out to their boyish diversions. After further enquiry as to what the things were that he told them they said that he talked with them of the virtues of Jesus and Mary, of their love for us, their many kindnesses, and of the duty of us all to love them, serve them; and words to that effect. And all this the Venerable Father told them with such gentlenesses and sweetness that he held his pupils spellbound and when they related in their own homes what happened in class, it caused their fathers and others in the household great edification, at the same time arousing in them devotion for Jesus and Mary.

4: OF THE PIOUS EXERCISE WHICH FATHER SALVATIERRA OFFERED UNDER THE NAME OF FLOWERS IN ADORATION OF JESUS AND MARY

Since true love, according to divine precepts, consists not in words but in deeds, so the deeds of the Venerable Father Juan María de Salvatierra bore witness to the love he had for Jesus and Mary. And nowhere did he reveal the purity of this love more than in the very pious exercise of flowers, which he offered on every feast day in honor of Christ and His Most Holy Mother. From the time when he came in contact, during his novitiate at Turin, with the Venerable and Apostolic Father Juan Bautista Zappa toward whom from the first he was drawn by firm ties of holy love and brotherly charity, both were as one in their devotion to the flowers of Mary which they offered to Jesus through the medium of His Most Holy Mother. And to make it clear just what these two devoted companions offered in this bouquet or garland of flowers, as well as for the common

edification and inspiration of those who may read this history, we shall point out here the practise and exercise he unfailingly observed all the days of his life.

From the time they became friends in the novitiate these two fervent lovers of Jesus and Mary agreed to offer every day, with particular emphasis on the Sabbaths of the year, and every feast-day of Christ and His Most Holy Mother(special devotionals and deeds of virtue under the name of flowers. For this purpose they laid down two rules: first, that they would not count as a flower any ordinary deed whatsoever, such as they were accustomed to do daily, but that it must be one constituting some particular and unusual act of devotion. Secondly that it would not be sufficient for this to be some ordinary act of devotion, but that it must be some heroic act, some moral victory, some act of brotherly charity, or of deep humility. To these they added that if on any day they should chance to perform two or three acts of like virtue, they did not have to leave them out, but they should not omit any, and finally that they must note them down in a little book, in order to compare on Sunday with another, one novena with another, and one cuarentena with another. This is what Our Patron Saint Ignatius had taught them to do when making an especial examination to see what improvement they had made in their exercises, and also to inspire them more in the service of Jesus and Mary.

In the novenas or cuarentenas which they gave on the nine or forty days preceding the festivities, they designated for each day so many righteous acts such as prayer, modesty, silence, brotherly charity, penitence, and mortifications, and invariably for each novena or cuarentena they chose certain saints as patrons, paying

some special attention to them so as to perform a novena or cuarentena with all completeness.

And although they varied the observances or flowers which they offered to conform with the character of the feasts or mysteries they were celebrating, they had selected some observances as common to all. Such was their custom of having a certain day, with the approval of the superior, for visiting and comforting the sick in a certain hospital; of going out on every other day through the streets asking alms to aid those in prison. Meanwhile they exhorted them to patience in their tribulations, to sorrow for their sins, and to reformation in their lives, and to cleanse their souls by confession. On another day they went out to expound the Christian doctrine to the children and the ignorant folk.

Also on one of those days, with the permission of their superiors, they visited one of the shrines consecrated to the Most Holy Virgin. There they administered the Holy Eucharist, or celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass. And as long as they were in Mexico City they frequently visited the sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe where, after Communion or Mass, they indulged in a prolonged period of prayer and meditation over the mercies of the Most Holy Mary, and devoted themselves to the Great Lady and to all her devoted servants.

During the days while they were holding these novenas or cuarentenas, they added additional penances, with the permission of their Spiritual Father, saluting the Great Lady every time the bell sounded with an Ave Maria, and they had a lengthy catalogue of very devout expressions with which during these days they saluted and honored her. They always fasted the evenings before festivals and said Mass on the day of the

Festival, expressing their thankfulness for the mystery that was celebrated. Many times during these days they attended the Most Holy Sacrament at a special altar in our church dedicated to the Most Holy Virgin. During these very days they were able to enter into places of repose and recreation with a great faculty of adjustment and without doing the least violence to spiritual things.

It is a remarkable fact that from the time of his novitiate the Venerable Father never lost his enthusiasm for this devotional known as the flowers of Jesus and Mary. And since he passed some fifty years in the Company, it is evident what a treasure book of merits he acquired, the many virtues of which the aforesaid flowers are composed. To these must be added his exertions in exhorting others to this same form of devotion. In one of his prayers where he tells of the heroic virtues of the Venerable and Apostolic Father Juan Bautista Zappa he remarks that through his personal efforts, at the time when Father Francisco de Aguilera succeeded him as instructor of rhetoric in Puebla, he carried on, to the lasting benefit of his pupils, the devotional known as the flowers of Mary.

The novenas of flowers which he offered were in the nine days preceding each festivity of the Most Holy Virgin. Cuarentenas amounted to five during the course of the year, three forty-days before the festivals of the conception, annunciation, and glorious assumption to Heaven of the Great Lady. The other two were; one, a forty day cuarentena in celebration of the passion and death of Christ, and his glorious and triumphant resurrection. The other lasted for forty days prior to the solemn feast of the corpus, which began twenty days after the resurrection. In addition to these there was a

period consecrated to flowers during the four weeks of the advent, to celebrate the Son of God just being born. They also held novenas of flowers in honor of the Most Holy Trinity, and on the nine days before those dedicated to Saint Michael, Saint Joseph, Our Father Saint Ignatius, and Saint Francis Xavier, which ten days of fasts took place twice during the year. The remaining saints, patrons and lawyers were honored with a novena, or at least a three days' festival of flowers the day before their festivals. Truly a marvelous example this, which God lays before us for our imitation, and as a noble incentive so that we may not lose our zeal in the practice of all the virtues.

5: CONCERNING HIS CONSTANT CHARITY FOR HIS NEIGHBORS

To do good and to cast out all evil are the two pivots on which revolves the exquisite machinery of love and consideration for our fellowmen, and there are countless instances of the ardent kindliness and love Father Juan María had for all, for sinners and the upright, and particularly for the poor, the sick and those in prison. None of them but participated in it, as soon as it came to his notice. Not without justice was he called the Father of the Poor, since he gave them opportune aid in their troubles to the limit of his ability. To such an extent, indeed, that while in the Tarahumara missions he was reduced to extreme hunger and penury, since what provisions he received from Mexico in all those years he distributed as alms to his Indians. This left him in such dire poverty that he was forced many times to

sustain life with roots and wild herbs, while as a treat he used to eat roasted corn, ground and reduced to a powder known as *pinole*. Then there came a time when, because there was nothing else he was compelled to eat rats, caught in the fields. The same thing occurred in California where, according to the testimony of Father Pedro de Ugarte and Captain Don Estevan Rodriguez, Father Juan María suffered from great lack of food and the common necessities of life, for his heart would not permit him to see his Indians go hungry and needy, and he generously shared what provisions he had received from New Spain and the missions on the mainland. So widespread was this charity that, in the mission at Loreto, this same Father went to the mountains to cut wood with which to cook the corn. He was thus able to distribute alms daily to the Indians who attended the school of Christian doctrine, giving to each of them a bowl of food daily.

Now it was a source of endless consolation to this servant of the Lord to see how, with the alms he gave them, he won the confidence of these wretched creatures; some leaped for joy; some embraced him; others stroked his face and his beard; while others, again taking his very cassock, used it to wipe away any traces of personal uncleanliness. A number of times when the barley or ground corn was so hot that the Indians could not hold it in their hands they cut pieces from his cassock in order to distribute it. Moreover, while some of those present urged him not to allow it, yet his great charity would not permit him to repulse this inconsiderate boldness on the part of the Indians.

Nor did he limit his kindness to these daily rations but extended it to any necessary articles these miserable

folk were in need of. He distributed to them coarse cloth and apparel so they might cover themselves; he gave them seed to sow and medicine for their sick. This he did not only for those in the missions and pueblos under his care, but for those in other missions as well. To this end he begged in person for great quantities of alms in the missions on the mainland, in the mining camps and cattle ranches and by letters he wrote to the benefactors of California. These poured in so freely that, as this same Father wrote to the attorney of Guadalajara Don Joseph Miranda, by April of the year 1712, within the first fifteen years of the conquest, they already amounted to some 500,000 *pesos*.

We have already mentioned how one of the flowers which he offered to Jesus and Mary in his novenas, was to go out on a certain day and beg alms which he distributed either to the convicts in the prisons or to the sick in the hospitals. This he made a practise of in his own province of Milan, and afterwards in Mexico City while a student of theology, and ultimately in Guadalajara when he served as rector of this college. Dissatisfied there with the usual dinner which was served daily in the porter's lodge to the poor, – a custom observed in all our colleges, – he came in and disbursed alms to those who he felt had particular need of them. This custom was continued by him when the college was extremely poor for, as he graciously remarked:

> We go to scatter alms in order to reap a harvest of benefits, knowing that charity is a fertile seed, which returns a hundredfold to the giver.

And what shall I say of the benevolence he displayed toward those who were not only poor, but also in the hospitals. It will suffice to mention here the written tes-

timony of Don Christobel de Mazariegos, president of the venerable congregation of the oratory of San Felipe Neri in Guadalajara, who writes as follows:

In my younger days I had the pleasure of knowing the aforesaid Venerable Father, and in my affection for him I observed the following acts of charity. When I was living with an uncle of mine, who was chaplain of the royal hospital of San Miguel in this city I heard about the Bethlemite Fathers of whom there were always very many patients.[72] In the royal hospital I used to see the aforesaid Venerable Father who frequently visited these invalids and who displayed so much benevolence that he often took off his mantle, removed his cassock, and with his own hands took away chamber-pots, cleaned them very carefully and returned them to the invalids. Then he proceeded personally to sweep out the sick rooms, and at this example his holy companions and others, as well as I, who was a mere child and not naturally tidy, could not contain ourselves at the sight of so noble an example and hastened many a time to clean up the floors, since his reverence had done it without the least loathing as if removing flowers. The sick rooms swept out, he then proceeded to wash the invalids, turn the matresses, shake the blankets, and raise them up in a more comfortable position to rest. His next act was to fumigate the rooms with "aluzema." This done the Father comforted them by delivering a brief sermon to bring cheer to the invalids, while those who wished to confess be confessed, and to all he gave consolation. As I remember he then gave them alms secretly, though I did not pay much attention to this since I was so young. However, his saint-like zeal and benevolence were apparent through it all. This I have tried to imitate, but I do not lay claim to such virtue and holiness. Inspired by examples like these I observed that the attendants and servants in the hospitals learned the same things, and I saw them, on several occasions discharging their duties with kindliness.

This testimony has been cited so that from it may be inferred what the zealous Father accomplished in his

[72] Bethlemite Fathers. A religious order founded at Guatemala in the 17th century by Pedro de Betancourt, and dedicated to Our Lady of Bethlehem. Members of this order, Bethlemite Fathers, were numerous in Mexico, where they built hospitals and established free schools for poor children.

visits to the other hospitals. And while he did not have these hospitals everywhere yet he had always sick folk to aid and console. From this it is evident how he worked among the sick Jesuits in the colleges where he lived, especially among those of Guadalajara and Tepotzotlan, where he was superior. Whenever he was advised that some one was ill he went immediately to visit them, comforting the invalids with words of sympathy. He arranged to have them receive the medicine the doctors ordered at the proper times and begged pardon for any inattention on his part to the invalids, owing to forgetfulness or the pressure of his many duties. He swept out the rooms, made the invalids' beds, and many times washed chamber utensils, although this embarrassed the sick ones, who showed how they felt at seeing themselves waited on in this way by their superior.

But where this charity of his had a broader sphere of influence was among the Tarahumares and Californian Indians. Father Juan María had observed that, as the Indians were a savage and uncivilized race, they did not have enough intelligence to cure themselves nor enough common sense to take care of their health. For this reason many of them died prematurely for lack of proper nourishment and the right medicine to sustain life. It must also be taken into consideration that the wizards or quacks, ingratiating themselves with the sick man's relations, passed themselves off as doctors, and promised to effect a cure; with the result that between remedies, superstitions and unsuitable treatment the sick man's malady grew worse, and he died. To stop these bad influences this servant of the Lord always kept on hand an adequate supply of remedies of the home-made variety which could be given to the sick man with-

out danger, in the hope of his improvement and relief. In the various Indian settlements he always selected some individual to notify him when any one fell ill. Whereupon he went at once to his assistance, his first care being to aid his soul if his malady seemed dangerous. Then he applied whatever remedies seemed likely under the circumstances to save the patient, or at least to ease his suffering. At the same time he provided them with proper nourishment which to these poor people seemed to be the best medicine of all. With his own hands he annointed them, gave them purgatives, and fed them their food, enduring patiently and cheerfully the troublesome habits they had as savages, even giving them the clothing from his own bed to warm them. To those who were near to death he administered the final sacraments while there was yet time, comforting their last moments. The dead he shrouded and buried, singing Mass over the body when it was ready for burial. If he was not pressed for time he even with his own cloak made a shroud on the following day while many was the time he wrapped some one in this same cloak so he might perspire! Also upon one occasion when there was no one else to do it, this same Father, with his own hands dug and made a grave for an Indian.

On one occasion when Father Juan María had gone out to California as provincial, he was advised that an Indian had been found at the rancheria of Loreto. The man was on the verge of starvation, having eaten nothing but roots and injurious and poisonous weeds, which he did not realize were dangerous, but which had caused his body to swell excessively. Father Juan María went at once to help him, taking along this same Father Pedro de Ugarte who witnessed the truth of this story.

Upon seeing the desperate condition of the sick man, he realized it was imperative to give him instant relief. Concocting a dose from various herbs which he always carried with him for just such emergencies, and taking out the necessary instrument, he himself applied aid to the sick man. It pleased God that through his care the sick man should be cured, to the wonder and edification of Father Ugarte and other Fathers who realized his great love when they saw their provincial engaged so charitably in so lowly and humble a task.

It was with like edification that the Fathers in Mexico City beheld with wonder the benevolence of their Father provincial in the following instance. He had reached Maximus College after he had left California, accompanied by an Indian whom he had brought with him, who was seriously ill. He revealed in this instance his tender care and ardent benevolence in seeking to relieve him. He had him go to his own room, where a bed was placed near his own, a bed as if it were for one of his brothers with mattress, sheets and a pillow. Then he immediately summoned the celebrated doctor, Don Andres Cesarini, who, when he saw an Indian settled so comfortably close to the bed of this same Father could not refrain from wondering at such extreme benevolence. Yet he remarked that so luxurious a bed was apt to be more injurious than helpful to the invalid, since Indians were accustomed to sleep on the ground, and with no more coverings than what they always carried with them. Moreover the warmth and heat from the mattress, sheets, and pillows was apt to heat the blood and cause fever. But the Father Provincial, refuting the doctor's worldly maxims quoted the saying from the gospel:

Love thy neighbor as thyself.

Nor was Father María's benevolence any less charitable toward the prisoners and converts. We have already mentioned how he manifested it among the prisoners in Mexico City. Here we shall add what he accomplished in Guadalajara, when he was rector of one college. It is known through the testimony previously given on other occasions by Don Christobal Mazariegos in charge of the church of San Felipe Neri, who says:

Over the convicts of the prisons he was greatly concerned and was constantly aiding them, not only preaching to them, teaching them the doctrine, and hearing their confessions – which was part of his duty; but also we saw him earnestly engaged in seeking food for the convicts, and diminishing their hunger, as he could not free them from the prisons. In his zeal he searched out a number of citizens who, one day in the year, promised to give dinner and supper to the prisoners, and this he continued while he was rector of this college. This I know since my mother had set aside her day and I believe my father for his part had another day. And as I remember it these days were like festivals with their abundance, and I recall the feast of the prisoners, and my mother's pleasure that she could bring happiness to Father Juan María.

This is his written testimony.

6: DESCRIBING THE INTEREST FATHER JUAN MARÍA HAD IN THE SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF HIS FELLOWMEN

Father Juan María's kindness was not confined solely to supplying things of a material nature to his fellowmen, but he served as well as a medium for fostering their spiritual welfare, since he tried to remove all evil from their souls, and to make them friends of God through grace. Those who were already His followers,

yet who needed to have their faith strengthened, he taught how to practise Christianity. Thus, in one way or another, he managed to put into active service his apostolic vocation of preaching and receiving confessions. His talks and sermons were always quite free from any touch of artificiality that hinted of rhetoric or worldly oratory designed to please the senses more than to touch the heart. His reasoning was sound, his arguments were profound and of great weight, while the loving spirit that impelled them burned with the flame of divine love. By this impulsive weight he softened hearts, moving them to compunction and grief over their sins, to devotion and love for God, and to a desire for righteousness. It is true he was not engaged in travelling about through the missions, like his affectionate and devoted comrade Father Juan Bautista Zappa, yet his burning love for God, and his constant zeal for His greater glorification made him like a divine teacher of the Gospel chosen and sent by Jesus and Mary to these realms to convert sinners, particularly Gentiles, and to kindle and inspire in all esteem and devotion for the Most Holy Virgin.

In his home province of Milan he was engaged in delivering inspired sermons to his students for the four years he was teaching grammar and rhetoric there and every Saturday he made fervant exhortations to his pupils in the classrooms as he expounded the Christian doctrine. When on his way from Italy to Cadiz, also during his voyage from Cadiz to New Spain, and later in Mexico City, in the years when he was a theological student he never ceased to urge all to love God and Mary, to abhor sin, and to have frequent sacraments. Touched by his ardent appeals many were moved to

seek him out at once for confession. We have already seen how fervently he preached in the prisons and hospitals, and how he afterwards confessed those who desired. So touched were the culprits by the saintly manner in which Father Juan María sought to save their souls that when business took him to Puebla, they missed him greatly, and asked repeatedly when he was returning.

In Guadalajara during the entire time when he was rector, not only did he confess, as we have seen, all the invalids and prisoners, but it might even be said that the entire city found in Father Juan María a common refuge. Some came to confess, others to discuss with him matters which troubled their consciences, and any knotty problems, finding certainty and a solution of their troubles in his decision. Others used him as a channel to meet the pressing needs of the poor. Although Father Salvatierra had a regular and well-arranged program for his daily labors, when an opportunity arose to furnish comfort and relief to some soul he dropped everything, particularly when he was called to some confession in our church, or in another house. For this was a task he looked upon as of the utmost importance and essential for the good of souls. Having made it a custom on Sundays for the choir to chant the rosary in the holy house and chapel of Loreto, and sing the litany of Our Lady, he followed this with an inspiring sermon on devotion to the Virgin, the beauty of grace, the foulness of sin, and other very timely subjects. This same plan he afterwards followed at the mission of Loreto in California. It is a custom which has continued up to the present time in several places after the lapse of so many years.

That his inspiring sermons and appeals bore fruit was evident by the many who came to him either for confession, or to his apartment, and all invariably left comforted. Those who entered as sinners always emerged full of honest grief and shame for their sin, to which he had moved them. The upright emerged with a clearer appreciation of grace and good conduct. The sad emerged joyful, the timid and conscious-minded comforted and strengthened. For the Lord had put into his lips words of such divine grace that, allured by his gentleness, all sought him for the welfare of their souls.

Nor should we omit to mention another divine task which he assumed for the enlightenment of his fellow-men. In a box he preserved the letters he received from his apostolic companion, Father Juan Bautista Zappa, all of which were full of God and his mercies, containing spiritual messages and divine maxims conducive to the welfare and benefit of the soul. So when anyone came in search of aid and consolation to Father Juan María, and found him in the act of praying or some other sacred occupation he opened the box and took one or two letters from it and had him read them while he went on with his prayer or whatever he was engaged in. This he did since he had learned through experience that the penitent or spiritual son always found here some thoughts or ideas well suited to meet his own particular need. And through these, and with what Father Juan María said to him, when the trouble appeared to be relieved, he sent them away contented and consoled.

What drew his fellow-men to seek from Father Juan María help for their souls was the extreme affability and gentleness with which he received all, without ever appearing annoyed by any of their follies. This he made

a point of so that his associates should come to him when he was superior, with complete confidence; and consult him about their doubts and disclose to him their temptations. And it was already known that it was not necessary to seek an opportunity, nor to observe when the opportunity should arise for speaking to him, since he was always the same in the gentleness and affability with which he received them.

Yet where he was at his best in this very courteous bearing was during the dozen years he had to deal with the Tarahumara Indians, and the twenty he spent in California. For, since it was his greatest desire to make them all subject to the Holy Church, and to have them live like Christians, he did not overlook any means of gaining recruits, and of securing from them whatever he wished. For this reason he never failed to attend their feasts and entertainments, and they were highly delighted to have him eat with them, without manifesting disgust at anything, and there was a time when he did not hesitate to eat horse flesh as they did. Nor did he hold aloof from assisting at their games, when he saw they did not contain any trace of superstition, nor anything of a dishonorable nature. When he observed anything of this character he tried to prevent it. Nor is it less indicative of his charity that he meekly tolerated their rudeness without ever complaining or showing any displeasure toward them, nor revealing any suspicion of anger or displeasure over it, but displaying rather a calm serenity and an imperturable peace. From all that has been said one may infer how great was Father Juan María's kindness, and how sweet and kindly was his treatment of all. Through these qualities he

gained recruits on every hand to carry out what he desired from all, namely the salvation of souls.

7: CONCERNING THE KINDNESS THAT FATHER JUAN MARÍA DISPLAYED TO THE BLESSED SOULS IN PURGATORY

As it is the aim of the Company to procure above all things the salvation of souls, this cannot be thoroughly complied with by securing the conversion of sinners, and the perseverance and growth in grace of the just. It must also include, on behalf of the dead, the securing for them by special indulgences and prayers, that they be released from the heavy sufferings of purgatory until they finally come to attain their eternal salvation in glory. The Venerable Father Juan María, like a loyal Jesuit, sought the salvation and spiritual welfare of his neighbors through the holy medium of confessing, preaching, explaining the Christian doctrine, founding missions, assembling congregations, aiding the dying, and exhorting all to be virtuous in his family colloquies and exhortations, but in order fully to fulfill the aim of the Company, he did not forget the souls of the departed when, confined in the prison of purgatory, they had stopped half-way in their journey without being able to help themselves to leave this place and reach their goal in the kingdom of glory.

For this reason primarily he had donated to the souls in purgatory the recompense of his good deeds. And in addition to the usual ones, he offered to God through the Most Holy Virgin many good deeds of fasting, prayer, and penitences to assist the blessed souls in

getting out of purgatory. For the further mitigation of their suffering he also made use of the wealth of the indulgences, crediting them with whatever he could obtain as priest and member of the brotherhood known as the *Rosary* and as one of the Fraternity of Our Lady with whatever indulgences were allowed for the crosses, medals and rosaries blessed by Rome. And above everything he sought to alleviate their suffering and to help these souls, wedded to Christ by holding many Masses in their honor. These in addition to what it was customary to say for those who had died both within and outside the Province and those suggested by Our Father-general for the benefactors of the Company, he offered as many as possible for the various deceased persons for whom he felt himself responsible.

He displayed this ardent charity particularly for the souls of the Indians who died in the missions which were under his charge in the Tarahumara country and in California. In addition to the usual favours of the church, over each one he performed the service of the dead and chanted the requiem Mass. In the second place the souls of the benefactors of California received the assistance of his prayers and good works. For the more distinguished he chanted Mass with all solemnity at Loreto, and he also charged the other Father missionaries to give them aid with Masses and prayers.

The depth of his solicitude may be judged from knowing that when the information reached California of the death, in Guadalajara, of the brother of California's distinguished benefactor, attorney D. Joseph Miranda who was archdeacon of this holy church, he celebrated his obsequies in Loreto, promising to say twenty-four Masses for his soul and to have others said

among the Father missionaries. And if he did all this for the brother of a noted benefactor, what would he not do for the same noted benefactors, themselves? He enjoined each and every Indian to pray for the benefactors of California, thanking them for the great good they had done them in having rendered assistance with their alms in saving their souls.

So it was, as he was the greatest benefactor of purgatory, souls frequently appeared before him, some to ask for good works to relieve them from the torments which they suffered, others to thank him for having helped them and to advise him that they had now passed on in glory to Heaven. Since these apparitions appeared only at night and at the periods he had put aside for repose of sleep, his health suffered in consequence. At times he spent the greater part of the night praying to God for the souls which appeared before him. Sometimes with the service for the dead, sometimes reciting rosaries, psalms, and other prayers. So he made covenant with the souls in purgatory that was appreciated by Father Feliciano Pimental in his famed sermon. In speaking of his devotion to the souls in purgatory he quotes in a few brief words these remarks that fell from the lips of Father Juan María:

> I have made an agreement with the souls in purgatory that if they wish aid they are to let me sleep a little. For they come in such numbers that they are here all night long until my head aches from loss of sleep, and they will lose the aid they desire.

Having made this agreement, although souls came to seek indulgence and prayer, when the hour arrived for the precious sleep he had need of, they retired and did not appear until he arose to say his prayers.

Certain Jesuits of this province have been known to

have come after death to ask assistance from Father Juan María. After they had gone to Heaven they returned and gave thanks to him. From two of his letters written to the attorney Miranda it is known that he saw the dead spirit of Father Mathias Goñi who died in Maximus College in Mexico in the year 1712. Not content with offering many Masses and prayers for his soul as having been a noted benefactor of California, while he was their procurator in Guadalajara, he sent notice of it to the aforesaid Miranda, asking him also to commend the dead man to God. He worded the information in the third person:

> That one of the old men of California had seen in his sleep the dead and shrouded Father Pedro Mathias Goñi.

This came to the attention of the attorneys and they replied that not only had they received no information in Guadalajara of the death of this Father, but that only a short time ago they had heard that Father Goñi was in good health in Mexico City. Father Juan María replied to this by saying that he was glad it was not true and that he had been warned of it in a dream. However a few days later he learned definitely by letter of the death of Father Goñi.

While Father Juan María was in the mission of Loreto in California he was heard to exclaim:

> At this time there has just died in Mexico City the noted benefactor of the California missions, D. Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, Treasurer of Apapulco and he is coming to ask us to pay him with prayers to enter into glory just as he has aided us in this conquest with money and ships.

Sometime afterward the soul of the dead one visited him to tell him of his eternal happiness. This is known by a letter from Father Juan María written to the Fath-

er Provincial Francisco de Arteaga and written in May, 1701, in which he says: "This has been represented to me by a certain person who does not know whether it is a dream, and who suddenly saw before him a beautiful palace, square and all illuminated. As this person approached the corner of the palace, and was looking cheerfully at those about him he saw emerge from the door a squadron of about fifty Californians beautifully dressed as Angels. It gave him much pleasure to see that they were going to welcome some important person. Suddenly Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe appeared at the corner of the palace like a newcomer. He responded joyfully to the welcome of the Angels who took him through the entrance of this great palace. He told them how well our efforts in behalf of the conversion of these poor Californians had been spent. Then, as he was going to embrace the person who stood looking at him, and show him marks of affection he suddenly awoke with a feeling of fear as he was looking for the person whom he wanted to embrace." This man related the incident to his Spiritual Father and he considered it as an indication and premonition of Don Pedro's entrance into a better kingdom, welcomed by the fifty Angels who had passed through baptismal grace to the palace of Heaven. It was a recognition that their entrance had been due in large measure to the efforts, labors and sacrifices of this gentleman. And since, on the other hand, he did not lay any emphasis on this vision for fear of being accused of deceit and falsehood, fresh proof, coming after his death, assures us of its truthfulness. Many solemn obsequies were made in his honor with sincere grief by the Spaniards and even by the poor Indians who, after a fashion knew they had in Don Pedro a

Father, who, let us hope, will promote from Heaven that conversion which he so ardently furthered upon earth. This is what Father Juan María wrote in the above mentioned letter to the Father Provincial.

There also appeared other members of our Company asking for good works to alleviate their suffering; and a second time, to repay him for his prayers, he was permitted to gaze openly upon God in Heaven. Some of this Father Feliciano Pimental mentions in the funeral sermon. Here are his words: "On one occasion I have heard it said that he did not know whether it was a dream or a reality (this was his way of explaining it). Here were gathered together Father Provincial Francisco de Arteaga, who died in Mexico City and who came with the aged missionary Father Nicolas de Prado and with Father Pedro Ignatius de Loyola who lost his life at sea." So much was mentioned in the sermon; but Father Juan María added that Father Arteaga had told him that Father Loyola had spent more time in purgatory than Father Antonio de Figueroa Valdez since he had been Superior and had more to account for before God by reason of his office. Both went to Rome as procurators for this province and died July 31, 1715, in the ship that was wrecked and lost in the straits of Bahama.

8: HOW HIS BELOVED FRIEND, FATHER JUAN BAUTISTA ZAPPA, APPEARED BEFORE FATHER JUAN MARÍA SEVERAL TIMES AFTER HE WAS DEAD

After the Venerable and Apostolic Father Juan Bautista Zappa had labored gloriously for many months in many places of this New Spain, he became so tired of

work and physically exhausted that he was instructed to retire to Xalmolonga, a sugar factory connected with Maximus College in Mexico City in the hopes that he might recuperate there. But as his constitution yielded to the violence of the attack, he passed away at this place one Sunday, February 13, 1693, at noon. At the same identical hour he appeared before his devoted and beloved comrade, Father Juan María de Salvatierra, in Guadalajara, where he was rector, a locality more than 120 leagues from Xalmolonga. In a letter dated November 15, of the preceding year, 1692, he had promised that, when his appointed hour arrived, he would tell his friend of his approaching departure. It was in fulfillment of this promise that his own spirit, when released from the bonds of the body, came as the messenger and the living letter, to bring notice of his death.

It was on this same day, and at this same hour that Father Juan María, as he was on his way to his room for his usual period of rest, saw a Jesuit in the garb of a pilgrim approach him. Thinking it must be some missionary who had come to embrace him, he recognized that it was his dear friend Father Zappa and that he came with a face sad and bloodless like that of a corpse. He realized that the pilgrim's attire indicated that, being yet in purgatory, he was much like a pilgrim outside his own country, inasmuch as he was still a traveller, and not one of the Blessed. The effects this vision produced on Father Salvatierra were to fill him with such extraordinary fervor that he could not contain his feeling, and rushed out to give some vent to his emotions among the servants of the Company. He left the College soon afterwards and went to the hospital to assist and comfort the invalids. Then he went out

through the plaza to expound the Christian doctrine to those who might gather there. After returning to the college and requesting the Father who was in charge on this particular afternoon to sing the *salve* and then turn over to him the pulpit, he donned the robe, going to the altar to chant the prayer of *salve*, – it being now four o'clock in the afternoon – he lifted his eyes to gaze upon an image of Nuestra Señora del Populo, which was above the altar, and saw there an image casting such rays of splendor that it appeared to be inwardly ablaze with crystals as in a looking glass. Thereupon he felt such a great sweetness and such a desire to do great things in honor and reverence of the Lady that it caused him much effort to hide what he felt and to control himself sufficiently to chant his prayer. Going then to the vestry he saw there his beloved comrade Father Zappa who said to him: "Adieu, beloved companion and brother of my heart, for already I am on my to Heaven." All this is confirmed in a paper I found among those belonging to Father Juan María after his death, and in the statement of Father Alexandro Romano, who had been the Father Provincial of this province, and who had previously been procurator for the missions of California in Mexico City. As such he had intimate intercourse with Father Juan María and he was thus able to speak about the devotion with which Father Juan María went to serve in the hospitals, and to preach in the plazas, and the esteem he showed the Lady in this prayer of *salve*; how these were favours he offered for the soul of Father Zappa, in order to shorten the hardships of purgatory. What he did later was an act of thanksgiving for the glory granted his companion.

On this same evening he took a broom, and went to

sweep out the lowliest workrooms and the most uncleanly places in the house, while at night, taking an apron he served dinner to those in the house; and for many days after that he undertook similar duties with great fervor. The Fathers of this college were astonished to see such extraordinary conduct on the part of their rector, nor could they fathom the cause from which it sprang until, after several days had passed, they received notice of the death of Father Zappa. Knowing this would touch the very depths of his soul no one had the courage to break the news to him. So they determined to go together to his room, hoping that this concerted action might serve somewhat to alleviate his sorrow. Yet the fact of the matter was that when they appeared before him, without giving them a chance to speak he forestalled their message by saying: "The Father rector knows that Father Zappa is in Heaven. God was kind to your rector." Whereupon they departed astounded and convinced that the recent fervor on the part of their rector had been prompted by the previous information he had had of the happy death of his companion. This has been attested to by Father Miguel de Castilla who was then a theological student in this college, dying later while rector of Maximus College. He was one of the group who went that day with the intention of giving the news of the death of Father Zappa and expressing their sympathy.

Nor was this the only visit which Father Zappa paid after his death to Father Salvatierra. We have already told in another place how Father Salvatierra, when he was serving as provincial, determined to remove the bones of his companion from the plantation at Xalmolonga and deposit them in the holy house and chapel of

Loreto. When he eventually came to put this into execution, he had already resigned as provincial, and was arranging and preparing to return to California. However, on the day when Father Zappa's bones were received on Sunday, September 25, it appears that his spirit came with them as well, causing Father Salvatierra to feel great fervor and spiritual consolation, accompanied by what seemed like a wonderful ecstasy which held him entranced and out of his senses for the space of three days.

On this same day Father Alexandro Romano, who held the office of procurator for California, entered Father Salvatierra's room to discuss important business pertaining to California. But he was so transported that he neither heard what was said to him, nor uttered a word in reply about the business; until this same Father Juan María happened to say: "Leave, Your Reverence, let us discuss this business some other day."

On the following day Father Alexandro went to him, but met with the same results; he returned for a third time another day, for the business was urgent, and finding Father Juan María still absorbed and entranced, he asked him if it was not time to speak of their business: at this time Father Juan María as if awakening from some sweet sleep, and returning from some other region, instead of replying to his question, merely said: "Ah, my Father! What a great saint Father Zappa was! A great saint! Vast and great is his glory in Heaven!" And this he repeated many times adding great praise for his countless virtues. And then, having given vent to the flame which would not be stifled in his breast, he turned his attention to Father Alexandro for a discussion of the business. From this incident the aforesaid

Father Alexandro rightly infers that Father Juan María's three-day trance was the result of some beautiful vision in which he had seen the great glory which his companion, Father Zappa, was now enjoying in Heaven.

9: THE PRUDENCE FATHER MARÍA CARRIED INTO ALL HIS ACTIONS

In the beautiful hierarchy of the virtues the chief place, after the divine or theological is taken by the so-called cardinal virtues, and of these, the most important is Prudence, whose task it is to direct all the other virtues to their proper end by a just medium and to keep them back from vicious extremes. The Angelical Doctor Saint Thomas, in discussing this virtue in the *Secundae*, distinguishes three grades of Prudence.[73] The first he calls *monastic*, by means of which man rules his own actions. The second is the *economic* through which he rules his house and family. With the third or *political*, he rules his subordinates in a kingdom or republic. We shall speak of Father Juan María de Salvatierra's perfect record in all three branches.

In the first place, from the time he began to understand the use of reason, he tried to make all his actions serve as a means to accomplish the ultimate end for which we have been created. And since he realized that the surest path is that of the religious life, he renounced all the prospects which the station and wealth of his house held out to him. After he had entered the Company he tried to live exactly as prescribed by our rules and constitutions, and, in as much as the object of them

[73] Saint Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican writer of the thirteenth century.

all is to develop an apostolic man, who, not content with seeking the salvation of his own soul, longs and aspires to save his fellow-men, from his primary rules of action he put forth every effort to assist others around him.

Having developed *monastic* prudence to the limits of his ability he had a rare opportunity to put into service the *economic*, while in the capacity of rector he ruled the college, and throughout the entire province while provincial, although this second is much more difficult than the first. For the task of ruling oneself with judgment lies in a man's own hands, and on his wish depends the obedience of the subordinates which hold sway in the interior realm of his soul; to-wit, the virtues, the passions, the thoughts, the words and the deeds. But whoso governs others does not hold in his own hands his wishes so as to make others compliant to his orders and commands. And just here lies the difficulty for one who rules others, which is overcome by Prudence, and by which he strives to avoid extremes as vicious; for if he endeavors to enforce religious observances by excessive severity, there is danger of provoking rebellion, mutterings, and great dissatisfaction among subordinates. If, on the contrary, he be too slack, and acquiescent and show excessive mildness, the result will be lukewarmness and inefficiency. It was in these situations that Father Juan María with his admirable prudence knew how to temper severity with leniency, and in this way he obtained what he desired from his subordinates. Every one loved him and had recourse to him with filial confidence since they found in him the affection of a father and, as was remarked in a sermon in his honor, when in the capacity of provincial he visited the colleges, no one hesitated to impart to him their trou-

bles, which were lifted from them by the loving kindness of their provincial. And in the perplexities and troubles which ensued from the isolated position of the missions, these continued just according to the delay in the arrival of Father Juan María, who as visitor belonged to them all.

At the time of his visits either to the colleges or to the missions, he tried to promote the observance of the regulations, unity, and brotherly love for one another, devotion to their duties and the common edification of their fellowmen. Nevertheless, he did not neglect to correct the faults and omissions he discovered, yet he did this with so much love, gentleness, and wisdom that no one felt hurt but rather comforted; yet when the necessity arose he knew how to be severe and firm toward those who paid no attention to his leniency. But after the reprimand was over he was his old self again displaying his usual extreme affability.

He had occasion for it many times when, as rector of Guadalajara he learned that a Father had effaced the list or index of Masses which had been placed in the sacristy, the third Mass which had been placed there for him, perhaps because he thought it did not fall in that week. The Father rector, however, made him do public penance for this in the refectory, but after it was over he was as affable and lenient toward the Father as if no censure had taken place. In the case of another Father, who, when the Father rector had come in quietly, through laziness or indifference had not risen up as he should, and the fact had been observed by all. In this instance he gave him a public reprimand, warning him he had been remiss in the respect he owed to his superior and had, at the same time, scandalized and offended

the community with this conspicuous breach of propriety. But directly after this reproof he sat and talked with this same Father and was as benign and affable as before.

Again, when as provincial he was visiting Maximus College, during one of the conferences which were always held while he was visiting he particularly requested the Father rector to correct a mistake that occurred in the studies. The Father rector replied smilingly that it was not a thing of great importance and was hard to correct. Nevertheless he rebuked him with firmness, giving him to understand that what a superior ordered was not of slight importance, but was conducive to better observance. In this way he tried always to fulfill the obligations of his office, invariably employing the methods that his judgment considered requisite to correct faults and inculcate virtue.

In our own college in the province, the two Fathers had agreed to notify Father Juan María who, in the capacity of provincial was visiting the college of some faults which they felt needed a radical remedy. One of them went to him and after hearing his report the provincial replied that he was gratified for the information, but that he felt it was not advisable to make sweeping changes and that it was sometimes necessary to overlook certain things to avoid greater evils. The priest left him so convinced and satisfied that he persuaded the other not to take the faults seriously, because he realized that the provincial judged wisely.

Other problems he solved with similar wisdom when complaints were made to him regarding the failure of observances. These he sought to rectify either by word or letter, avoiding, as far as possible, unpleasant reme-

dies and only in extreme instances did he report these failures to his councillors. For he said that there were many judgments and opinions and that some, in their zeal for justice, were apt to be unmindful of compassion and mercy and that it was always necessary to temper these two virtues by finding a middle way and so accomplish the result desired with the correction.

No less admirable was the great servant of the Lord and very prudent superior in his constant serenity and tranquility for, after he had taken the steps he judged expedient and the desired end had not been attained, he left all in the hands of God. For this is what he said: "If I cannot find a remedy why should I grieve? Let God's will do what it can to turn these same evils into good." But in whatever he was able to rectify he was always very reserved, cautious, and prudent. The secret of it lay in that he always gave the accused the benefit of the doubt, without using extreme measures when he could correct the offender in a kindly manner. He was foresighted in not allowing himself to be carried away by any information until he could thoroughly inquire into the truth of the matter in so far as he was able. He was wise enough to take into consideration the circumstances of time, place, and person.

In one particular college complaints were brought to him about a number whose duty it was to preach every eight days, and who did not take the pains he should over his sermons which he arranged and preached with but little study and application. The Father provincial did not wish to proceed to the correction just then but, waiting for the day to arrive on which he was to preach, he went to hear him and find out the facts of the case for himself. After hearing the sermon he found the con-

trary of what he had been led to expect, being left with a good opinion and impression of the preacher whom he congratulated, expressing the satisfaction he felt over the interest he showed in his office. Afterwards, calling the accuser to one side, he reprimanded him in private for the levity with which, either through ignorance or wilfulness, he had made the complaint.

Very different was the attitude he took toward another priest who, one Sunday during Lent, with more zeal than discretion and without being guided by the dictates of wisdom, called attention to some irregularities which he felt existed in the republic, expressing his thoughts in such a way that all knew, although no name had been mentioned, that he referred directly to the viceroy who was then governor. All of us felt this indiscretion deeply for it was feared that if this came to the attention of His Majesty some serious trouble might ensue. But above all it was felt by Father Juan María who was then provincial and who was actually in the professed house where the sermon was delivered. When, in the evening, he called the preacher to his room he gave him a very severe scolding, calling his attention to the fact that he had violated our twelfth rule for preachers, which commands them to refrain at all times from criticism, especially in public. And in the meanwhile he determined after thinking over the penalty that it was his duty to send him in the morning into banishment in the novitiate at Tepotzotlan.

By this timely forethought he very judiciously forestalled any complaint the viceroy might make or any other demonstration to which his feelings might prompt him. His Excellency, however, even though he knew on the same day what had happened, instead of showing

any resentment, showed a magnanimity worthy of a Christian ruler. He sent to beg the Father provincial with warmest entreaties to revoke his order, and let the preacher, who in his zeal had endeavored to spread the truth, return to Mexico City. If he had overstepped the limits his shortcomings should be pardoned in consideration of the zeal with which he had acted. This was done and through the prudent foresight of Father Juan María the difficulties and misunderstandings which they had feared were avoided.

And finally this great servant of God excelled in that political wisdom, which we shall term apostolic, by means of which he conceived and executed the glorious ventures for the glory of God and the welfare of souls, especially during the dozen years he labored so gloriously among the Tarahumares, and more especially in the conquest and reduction of California which has already been discussed in its proper place. To these dictates of prudence is due the conservation and increase which up to the present time have been enjoyed in the apostolic missions.

10: THE GRATITUDE FATHER JUAN MARÍA ALWAYS FELT TOWARD HIS BENEFACTORS AND THE URBANITY WITH WHICH HE GAINED THE GOODWILL OF OTHERS

The Venerable Father Juan María always felt he was under deep obligations for the generous kindness with which the benefactors had aided him in his current expenses, especially in what had been necessary to undertake the momentous conquest of California, and to conserve and promote the salvation of so many souls in

so remote a country. It is known by definite count that, during the twenty years he carried on this laborious venture, he disbursed 666,660 *pesos*, an amount which in large measure was due to the Christian-like generosity of his patrons. And as, on the one hand, Heaven had bestowed on him a very noble heart, on the other he knew that gratitude was a virtue very pleasing to the Lord, and so he tried to do his best to show in as many ways as possible by words, works, and deeds his gratitude for what he had received. He was well grounded in the holy sentiments of the great Apostle of the Orient, Saint Francis Xavier, whom he constantly looked up to as a model to be imitated in all his expeditions and apostolic undertakings. And so, with this material he put into practice what the Holy Apostle in his letters and instructions recommended to the missionaries in the Company: it will suffice to know that he never failed to express his deep appreciation to his benefactors who either with alms or with their influence, favors and support contributed to the patronage of the missions and to their fine record in the conversion of souls and the propagation of the Faith among the gentiles.

It is a wonderful thing, in reading the letters of Father Juan María, to notice how full they are of expressions of gratitude toward those who helped this conquest. He accords their help the highest praise and declares them participants in the spiritual fruit of these conversions no less than the very missionaries. He promises them the reward fulfilled by God in this life by the increase of their temporal and spiritual possessions, and what is more, proclaims to them how all this falls within the bounds of a reverent assurance of eternal felicity. And at the close of life the very least of those

who had been baptized would go to receive them as well as the other new Christians who are already in the light of God's presence, and are praying for their souls in order to lighten their pains in purgatory, and will join them when they ascend in triumph to Heaven. With all this he also told them how, in order to perpetuate their memory, especially in the beginning of the conquest, he gave, to the children he baptized, the names and surnames of their benefactor.

Not satisfied alone with words he also proceeded to express, as far as he was able, his appreciation with his deeds. This he accomplished in the first place at the beginnings of the conquest, remitting to our Catholic Monarch complete information about the principal benefactors who, with the means at their disposal, had coöperated in the conquest of a new kingdom adding, in a temporal way, to the domains of His Majesty and spiritually to those of Jesus Christ.[74] And in virtue of this information it followed that His Majesty sent honorary parchments of appreciation to the chief benefactors: in fact they were received by the attorney D. Juan Caballero y Ocio who had endowed the first two missions with 20,000 *pesos*; by the treasurer Gil de la Sierpe, who, with all the means in his power, had aided and encouraged the planting of the Holy Faith in this kingdom; and by the attorney of the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, D. Joseph Miranda Villaisan, who was the loyal patron and procurator of this conquest. In these particular parchments the King expressed his thanks to these several benefactors, promising them he would keep them in mind and honor them whenever the opportunity presented. Not content with

[74] This Catholic Monarch was Philip v.

this, on many other occasions Father Juan María tried to show his gratification now in complimentary letters, now in honorable recommendations from himself personally, for the prompt settlement of business which they had pending at the court of Madrid and in the Audiencias of Mexico and Guadalajara.

The gratitude of Father Juan María went further than this in its manifestations. For several pueblos along the coast of Nueva Galicia which had coöperated a number of times in the transportation and conveyance of the ships and other generosities pertaining to California, and had assisted at the beaches with the various maritime operations, received from the Royal Audiencia at Guadalajara special privileges and exemptions which were not enjoyed by the other pueblos. In addition to this when any one of the soldiers from the presidio, or other servant from the missions was sent by the Father to travel to the mainland; or when it became necessary to send them away because it had not been agreed they were to remain in California, nevertheless for whatever services they had rendered he showed himself pleased to give them letters of introduction and recommendation to the members of the Royal Audiencia and to other citizens who might do them favors. And even when they were dismissed for incapacity he tried to have them go away with honor, just as if they were leaving of their own accord, since they were not doing well in this country, failing to mention in the certificates the faults for which they were removed.

Additional evidences of his kindly heart appeared in the many Masses and prayers he offered for the benefactors. And so that he might keep them always in his mind he kept a written book of all the alms, not only

the large amounts, but even the tiniest with the names of those who gave them, so that this might serve as a record in the course of the Masses and prayers each day. And he advised all his Father associates to be sure to commend to God all the benefactors, since by virtue of the bounty of their alms they were supported and secured the salvation of these souls, and until these very Indians were finally baptized he informed them of their chief benefactors, from whom they received to a large degree their sustenance and clothing, charging them to remember them in their prayers to God during Mass and in other praying.

In gaining the good-will of the patrons his affability stood him in good stead in his religious dealing with various kinds of people, with seculars, with soldiers, with sailors in a word with every one in all the walks of life. To each he spoke, as I have said, in their idioms: that is to say, about what gave each one the greatest pleasure. He rejoiced over their prosperity, showed sorrow over their troubles, giving them the advice that best suited them. Even with the very Indians of the Tarahumara country and of California he conducted himself with as much gentleness and affability as if he were on their level, and consequently all discovered in him a Father, friend, benefactor, and equal whom they could treat in a friendly manner, and in whom they could confide their troubles.

Accessible and affable as he was in his conduct and conversation yet he did not neglect those attentions and courtesies which were due those with whom he had to deal. This is evident particularly in his letters, in which he with suitable dignity amply honored those who made donations. But at the same time he did not cease in all

these letters to incite them to devotion and virtue with pious admonitions that he interspersed in them. And all looked upon the phrases of his letters as the wise sayings of a holy man. For this reason they were treasured partly for the spirit behind them and partly for the affable courtesy with which he got them to feel remorse or be edified.

With this delightful affability Father Juan María associated, when it was necessary, the real value of pastimes. When regulated by prudence this is what tends to bring relief not only to the mind but to the body in permissible sports, where there is a thorough propriety in words and deeds. Father Juan de Ugarte, who was with him for many years in California, refers to some of the ways in which Juan María took his recreation. Several times he took him with him on his walks in the country frequently taking him to rancherias of the Indians to see their sports and diversions. On one occasion when they were dancing Father Juan María joined in and made Father Pedro come with him, doing this so that they could take part in the Indians' pastimes by dancing with them.[75] And turning to him, he said: "Dear Father, in this solitude and isolation the mind must have some diversion so that it will not give way to melancholy, which is the gateway to temptation."

Several times after Mass he invited this same Father to take a light breakfast of chocolate in his room, remarking graciously: "Come now, since there is no superior to see us." While they were having breakfast he entertained him with interesting anecdotes and pleasant stories of what had happened at various times in our College, especially among the the Brother students.

[75] See page 189 of this volume.

And in this way he tried to entertain the aforesaid Father Ugarte, who had recently come to California, that he might not feel sad in this wilderness. The same thing he did with the other missionaries who were recent arrivals. And when some of them confided to him how homesick they were, he listened to them sympathetically and then said: "Come my dear fellow" (the title he usually applied to them) – "Come, my dear fellow, let us dance." And he was actually dancing with every appearance of pleasure. Then he said to them: "You should thank God for this sadness and labor which depresses you, as it is sent by His hand for your good"; and he gave him such agreeable and at the same time spiritual explanations that he was filled with consolation, and sent him away very cherful and much edified.

Once, while witnessing the masque of nativity at one of our haciendas, he called the administrator aside and said to him: "My dear fellow, do not be sad, for today is a day of rejoicing to our Lord over His holy birth. Go and seek among our associates a guitar. Take it and sing and rejoice with the Angels, who today chant the glory of God on high and on earth, peace and goodwill toward men." This he did. Then the Venerable Father took the guitar in his hand, touched it dextrously, for he was familiar with it, and sang some holy chants to the great delight of the administrator, and of the others in the house who were present.

11: A CONSIDERATION OF THE UNCONQUERABLE PATIENCE FATHER JUAN MARÍA SHOWED IN HIS GREAT VENTURES

The first and foremost problem which presents itself to a religious person from the time he abandons the

world and enrolls as a disciple in the school of perfection in order to exercise patience and fortitude is the controlling of passions, firmness in the allotment of his religious duties, and constancy in observing the regulations of his Institute. Having valiantly overcome the opposition of his relatives who had opposed his entering the Company, Father Juan María did not have much difficulty in the controlling of himself. From the beginning of his novitiate he devoted himself to the religious life and all its observances with such tenacity of purpose that, never for a moment turning back, from the very outset he continued zealously until his death.

But who can fully account for Father Juan María's patience under the countless hardships which he was forced to undergo as the result of his apostolic ventures, and to which his zeal for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls led him? Thirty years he spent in the Tarahumara missions and in California. He gathered into pueblos the Indians who were living like savages in the mountains. He brought them into a civilized Christian life, and to accomplish this it was necessary for him to go far into the mountains, to open up new roads and to suffer ill treatment from the natives, born and bred without any training. It was necessary to endure frequent hunger and lack of proper clothing, to bear extreme heat and inclement weather, and to expose his life to many perils on land and sea. Yet this servant of the Lord submitted to it all not only patiently but even happily and to such an extent that no one ever saw him perturbed, nor was he ever so overcome by his varied and continual toils as to turn back from the undertakings.

And as for what pertains directly to the conquest of

California who can consider lightly the unconquerable patience with which he carried on an enterprise which had been attempted so many times before yet never carried out and which up to the present time had been thought to be impossible by men of prudence? He found wide differences of opinion among his own brethren in the Company. They thought his proper place was to continue in the management of the Colleges of the province; nor did they deem it feasible for a poor brother to attempt what had never been accomplished even when abundant funds from the royal Treasury were available. And so they did not like at the beginning to accede to his proposals. Once having obtained the consent of his superiors what did he not have to tolerate and endure from the royal ministers in obtaining the royal permit? He attained his goal, but only on one condition, that his expedition should not cost the crown a single penny, which made it obligatory for him to buy ships, feed soldiers and make provision for all equipment needed in a new conquest. All of this had to come from alms donated by benefactors. How greatly he suffered with soliciting these alms, for, not satisfied with attempting to shake his unconquerable patience with harsh words and derogatory comments, some branded as foolhardy his project, not hesitating to pronounce him crazy.

To add to these incessant hardships he also suffered from ill health, especially from an aggravated case of gravel. Since there were no doctors nor other apothecary shops in the deserts where the missions were situated, the sufferings would have been intolerable for any who did not have, like Father Juan María, the

powerful help of God to make him a sharer of his cross, and to accompany him in the tortures of Calvary.

It is only possible to have some idea of the Venerable Father's minor sufferings in his ventures by what happened on one occasion at the beginning of the conquest of California before affairs were in running order, or the land could provide what was needed to sustain life. So desperate was the situation at the missions that neither had they anything on hand to ward off starvation nor did they have any prospect of outside help reaching them. The Father, the captain of the presidio, and the soldiers were thus in imminent danger of their lives from the pangs of hopeless starvation.[76] Gathering them all together this servant of the Lord explained to them the desperateness of their situation with no prospects of relief, explaining that for this reason it now seemed expedient to relinquish their territory and cross over to the shores of the mainland taking with them in the bark and launch the proselytes, and baptized adults, and some Catechumens who were about ready to be baptized.

To some this might seem like a lack of patience and constancy under hardships if the aim and objective Father Salvatierra had in this proposal were not known. He knew very well that the Fathers who were his companions would rather lose their lives than abandon this venture they had begun. And as a matter of fact after listening to their Superior's proposals all opposed it violently; particularly the Venerable and Apostolic Father Juan de Ugarte who declared that no matter if he saw everyone leave California he was determined

[76] This refers to the time when the Fathers voted to abandon the missions. See pp. 200-202.

to remain there alone.[77] And if it came to the point of saving his life he would go to the mountains and seek roots, herbs and wild berries such as the Indians lived on. Inspired by the example of this very courageous resolution of the Father, the captain of the presidio said the same thing, and following the lead of their captain, the soldiers made the same promise. This was exactly what the Father Juan María had planned, for, in spite of hunger, the captain and the soldiers did not leave the land and become refugees on the mainland. In this way he left them to decide of their own free will whether they would remain in California, being compelled to sustain life on fish taken from the sea and on wild berries from the mountains until such time as outside aid should arrive or whether they would return to the missions on the mainland. And in such a case it was the intention of the Servant of the Lord to place on board only those who might cast their vote in favor of withdrawal. In regard to them, as there were few soldiers, it was easy to transport them with little expense to the mainland, but it was not easy – in fact it was almost impossible – to transport all the Christians, Catechumens and little ones with their mothers, who amounted in all to virtually a thousand persons.

From this it will be seen that it was not a lack of patience and constancy under difficulties in Father Juan María to have considered abandoning the country, but a stratagem directed by prudence in order to accomplish what in fact did happen: for all to remain in the country and carry forward what they had begun. So Father Juan María wrote in certain letters, partic-

[77] The attitude of Salvatierra and Ugarte probably saved the missions, as the other Fathers wished to abandon them.

ularly to the attorney Joseph de Miranda y Villaisan. What would always be his fixed purpose is evident in a memorial which he sent to the Royal Tribunal in Mexico in his own name and in the name of all in the presidio. In it he declared that they were all determined not to abandon the country, although help should fail to arrive from the Royal Treasury, even if they had to die there for love of that new Christian settlement.

12: FATHER JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA'S DEEP HUMILITY

Heaven having endowed the Venerable Father Juan María with so many natural and spiritual gifts, it was more wonderful to all to note his very deep humility. Not only did he not become proud, but he humbled himself before everyone, since he realized that neither noble birth, nor unusual ability, nor the opinions that even the most illustrious held of his personality were his own prosperity, but a special gift from God. Never did he show himself presumptuous, for he regarded himself first and foremost as a servant who was useless and without profit. Regarding all others as his superiors, he conducted himself as the servant of all, trying to serve them in the most menial and lowly ways. When he waited on the convicts in prison and the invalids in the hospitals, however abject they might be, he served them all as if they were his masters.

He humiliated himself before our members in this same way even though they were his inferiors. While rector at Guadalajara he started out on foot to visit the sanctuary of Our Lady of Zapopan about a league from the city, taking as his companion a Brother who taught

grammar in the college. Since the road led across a stream which had no bridge, Father Juan María, upon arriving there, removed his shoes and stockings, but when his comrade wished to do likewise he would not permit it but put him on his shoulders and in this way carried him to the other bank, both going and returning.

We have already related in another place that when he had gone as provincial to visit his beloved California, he had prepared an enema for a sick and very needy Indian in the same way and this he gave with his own hand just as if he were the most lowly nurse. About this same time he gave another rare example not only of his self-effacement but of his ardent charity and zeal for saving souls. One morning as he was standing in the doorway of his house in Loreto with two of the Jesuit Fathers, Juan and Pedro de Ugarte, he saw in the distance an Indian approaching, who was coming in a great hurry. Wondering what it was all about, he told the fathers to wait for him while he went out on an errand of mercy. He started out and when he met the Indian he learned that he had come to ask confession for an invalid who lived about three leagues away. The Father requested him to lead the way and following the rapid strides of the Indian he finally reached the sick native, heard his confession and comforted him with his usual kindliness. In the meantime the dinner hour had arrived and as the Father failed to appear the anxious Fathers sent out parties in every direction to look for him. At three in the afternoon they saw him coming all heated and very tired from having travelled on foot about six leagues in all under the scorching rays of the sun. When the Fathers learned the cause of this visit they complained that he had not spoken to either of the

two, since there was no reason why a provincial of their Company should so abase and fatigue himself when he had subordinates to act for him. After listening to them the Father graciously replied: "Your reverences are here the entire year working and so should have a short rest now. Since as provincial I am regaling myself and growing fat at the expense of the province, it is right for me to assume this slight task and lighten the burdens of your reverences."

When residing in the colleges, even though superior, he held himself to be the servant of all, and down to the very domestics of the house he gave freely of his help, aiding them in the lowest and humblest duties. For, to his own way of thinking, he was the lowest of all, and anticipated the tasks of the Brother conjutors and servants, carrying them out unostentatiously and without hindrance by choosing the least busy hours, free from bustle and observation from those in the house. Then he swept the floors in the house, even the most unclean places and gathered up and took out the refuse. And if anyone happened to see him and wished to take the broom from his hand to relieve him of this work, then he strongly kept to his humility, saying that they should not interfere with what he was doing for amusement and diversion nor should they hinder this bodily exercise which the rule of the Company recommended even to those who ought to specialize in intellectual duties.

Among other humble missions with which he was occupied while acting as superior for the colleges of Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Tepotzotlan was one where he went for several days after dinner to the special door to receive and disperse the usual alms to the poor. First he gave a short sermon touching on the

mysteries of the Christian doctrine and exhorting them to live like good Christians. Then, with his own hands, he gave them the alms and food which had been prepared; serving them as a servant would his lord. This same thing he did in the prisons and hospitals and afterward in California when, after the doctrine, he doled out to the Indians corn, thereby exercising at the same time humility and material and spiritual kindness as the servant of all.

13: HOW THOROUGHLY CONSIDERATE FATHER JUAN MARÍA WAS IN THE OBSERVANCE OF THE VOW OF POVERTY

From a humble heart there naturally arises poverty of spirit, for whoever really knows that he is nought and that nought is owing to him, and that first of all he deserves even hell for his faults, has no longing for the things of this world, deeming himself unworthy of them all.

Father Juan María made this clear to all by his precise observance of the rules of poverty in his dress, food and belongings, and in his mode of travelling. The journey he made into California after he became provincial may serve as proof. A priest of the Holy Order of St. Francis, a minister who was in charge of the pueblo and district of Guaynamoto came to the conclusion that the father, because of some grave offenses was going as a penitent and outcast into the solitudes of California when he saw him pass through his district so shabbily clothed, so poverty-stricken, and without any conveyance or escort. So when Father Pedro Ugarte came by the place he was asked with much wonder,

"What offenses has Father Juan María de Salvatierra committed which have caused him before the expiration of his provincialship to isolate himself in the province of California in such dire poverty and without the common necessities?" This inquiry and wonder Father Pedro succeeded in satisfying with the remark that these were not faults but virtues that caused Father Juan María to go in poverty to California and that in as much as he had succeeded after unbelievable hardships in the conquest of California and in winning many Gentiles to the Faith and knowledge of Christ Jesus he found he was obliged to leave the place at the summons of his superiors. Upon arriving at Mexico City, he had been sent by our Father-general unexpectedly as provincial to this province. Consumed with the fire of an ardent zeal and apostolic fervor for the salvation of these miserable ones, he made so many proposals and advanced so many arguments to our Father-general in order that he might be released from that honorable office that in consideration of his sacred calling he was given permission to renounce his office of provincial to return to his beloved California. He travelled in so humble and poverty-stricken a manner because of his disdain for worldly things and from a desire to humiliate and mortify himself before Christ. Content with this reply the priest left, highly edified and with a deep appreciation of Father Juan María's saintliness.

No less admirable was the humble manner in which he returned from California, when he was visiting it as provincial. Ample proof of this appears in the testimony of Dr. D. Christobaldi Mazariegos whom we have often quoted in the report he gave of Father Juan María's virtues. This runs:

What was so admirable about this journey was that as he was returning from the Port of Mantanchel the Father found no provision had been made; so he took a wild horse equipped in Indian fashion with a wooden saddle and stirrups, and made his way to the College of this city of Guadalajara where he was seen to enter, if my memory does not fail me, unexpectedly at noon. He entered in such a guise as would have been a matter of merriment in any other person, but with the Father it awoke edification even among the boys. This Venerable Father, mounted on the horse, presented a strange appearance for he had reins of rope made of rush, and his bag for a bridle. He wore a half-worn cassock, and an old-fashioned hat, having a high crown and narrow brim, lent to him by a soldier. His face was tanned by the wind and sun and he had on a poor borrowed cape for he had left all his belongings behind him in California.

From this account may be inferred how dearly Father Juan María loved holy poverty and how he despised worldly things, braving public opinion by entering a city in attire like this which might excite derision and ridicule in those who did not know the saintliness of this great servant of God. Since he had consecrated his life to the heathen missions for a period of thirty years from the time he took the vows of extreme poverty he was obliged to endure it in countries very remote, barbarous, and devoid of all intercourse. It is also a fact that, of all the alms he begged and secured for the conquest and conservation of Christianity in California, never did he by any chance appropriate even a *real* for his own use. The entire amount as well as what came from rentals each year was devoted to the expenses of the conquest, the maintenance of the presidio, the equipping of ships and sailors, and the sustenance of his beloved California Indians. All he took for his own food, when there was any, was a very small portion of corn and jerked beef. When this was not forthcoming

he supported himself on herbs and wild berries from the mountains.

For his personal clothing he took nothing but what he begged as alms from the procurator of California, as any beggar might do. A letter has been found which he wrote to Father Juan de Estrada, rector and master of novices in the college of St. Andres in Mexico City, in which he asks a cassock as alms, but only on condition there was one which was old and worn; for if he sent him a new one he would not take it.

Nor did Father Juan María confine his observance of extreme poverty solely to the missions. He likewise observed it even while rector of the colleges for, when he had charge of distributing the goods and rentals of the colleges, he invariably sought out and appropriated the worst things in the house for his own use. In the letters he wrote he never used more than half a sheet nor allowed for margins. The same thing was true of his extra writings in which he put down his discourse, sermons, and other devotional matters, making use of the back of letters; and he did not spare the margins in jotting down notes. Owing to this habit only the Father could understand his own writings; nevertheless it has been possible to gather together several of the aforesaid papers which are preserved together as a great legacy in memory and veneration of his sanctity.

His personal belongings were of a most ordinary variety which anyone could use since, when anything was needed he immediately gave his own. And this was not only to the Fathers but to the California Indians who assisted him. His cloak was the ordinary covering for sick Indians, when he felt they needed to perspire or when, for any other reason they needed to be

covered. Ordinarily he travelled without stockings or under drawers wearing only white breeches of coarse cloth such as cabin-boys use. Many times he went without a cassock using a blanket or his old coat.

In one letter he wrote to the attorney D. Joseph Miranda he remarks that when the Father missionaries for California met in Loreto to confer on the administration of the missions not one of them resembled another in his exterior. Such was the poverty of the apostolic saintly men. And then he adds that upon this occasion he was very well treated although he seemed like a lay-brother of Saint Augustus with his old cassock and without a collar.

14: CONCERNING FATHER JUAN MARÍA'S ANGELIC CHASTITY

We have already related in the first volume how Father Juan María, even though he was surrounded in his youth by luxuries and riches, conquered the temptations his relations put in his path when they left him alone with the niece of the Cardinal Archbishop, who was considered in the light of one who would marry; and how the very modest youth, being aware of the ruse, at once saw the danger and did not repeat his visits.[78] And his triumph was followed up with so many exercises of self-mortification as to become a part of his religious life, exercises having as their aim and object to conquer and restrain the evil inclinations of the flesh and to preserve in all its purity and without blemish his chastity.

[78] Salvatierra came of a noble and wealthy family of Milan. See page 63 of this volume.

Particularly worthy of note was the modesty Father Juan María always displayed in his countenance, in his words, and in his actions; a virtue which is always observed and which is essential to the preservation of chastity. After his death many persons who were in a position to know declared that Father Juan María never saw the face of any woman, not only when he met them in the traffic and crowds of the city, but also when he taught and catechized the Indians in the remote pueblos of the missions. He was more like a man who was so miraculously superhuman that he did not see the living even when, in his supreme goodness, he talked with them. Such was his modesty that even when he was reverently asked for his hand to kiss, he covered it modestly with his cloak, offering this to kiss in place of his hand.

Generally speaking, all his conduct breathed sanctity. His words were always grave, discreet and edifying; his conversation, although not tiresome, was always about affairs pertaining and referring to the glory and service of God. His actions were measured and adjusted to the rules for modesty as Our Patron Saint Ignatius has defined them in his constitutions. His eyes were lowered but without affectation or deceit, while his entire appearance gave every evidence of unusual virtue which lay hidden within. Worthy of note is the fact that at the time of his first meeting with the superiors and our other members when he went forth to greet them outside Mexico City together with his associates according to custom, they were so captivated by his modesty and unworldliness that, from that time on, they regarded him throughout the province as a living example of saintliness.

But since the best safe-guard for preserving the sweetness and purity of chastity is found in the thorns of continual self-mortification, this was where Father Juan María put forth his best efforts from the days of his novitiate, continuing to do this throughout his life. And this in spite of the distinction laid down in our rules for the guidance of a holy man that mortification and bodily punishment should be looked on as a means and not as an end of perfection. For this reason, according to the particular times and needs he sometimes mitigated or diminished them, at other times increased or prolonged them, yet never did he entirely omit them, macerating his flesh with fastings, girdles of bristles, flagellations, iron chains, and many other mortifications which were self inflicted.

In addition to these, from the time of his novitiate he always persevered in an ordinary round of penitences, including the mortifications of the flesh which are usual in all our refectories, and which Father Juan María always practised to the great edification of those about him. He secretly kept his penitences distributed among the days of the week in such a way that each day he had something to suffer and to live ever practising religious severities. He had days for cruel and bloody forms of discipline, others for torture with bristles, chains, graters, and heavy knotted ropes; others dedicated to strict fasting. Many times he lived on bread and water and slept on hard boards. These were usual penitences, but during the novenas and cuarentenas which were offered in the name of flowers to Our Lord and His Most Holy Mother in celebration of his festivals, then he doubled and increased his ordinary penitences. Since these novenas and cuarentenas occurred so many times a year

his life came to be one continuous round of penitences. Those who were his novices and others who meeting him intimately could observe it with their own eyes, testified that among other very severe girdles of mortification he was in the habit frequently of using one with points of steel so arranged that in using it the body pressed heavily on very many of them inflicting severe torture. The fact that a small mattress he used lasted for twenty-eight years goes to show how little he must have used it since it could never have survived so long had it seen constant service.

And since the habit that particularly increases the fire of lust and is for this reason detrimental to chastity, is excess in eating and drinking Father Juan María made a particular effort to check his appetite. It may be said without fear of exaggeration that his entire religious life was a continual fast and a perpetual abstinence. Besides the days of Lent, and Vigilias on which fasting is enjoined, he fasted every Friday and Sabbath during the year while, during the novenas and cuarentenas, as we have said, he multiplied the fastings, and this was while he was living in the colleges. But in the thirty years he passed among the Tarahumara missions and in California, necessity forced him to observe many more fasts. He was compelled to fast by lack of alms, dire poverty and lack of common necessities in those treeless and desert countries. In this way Father Juan María naturally became pale and emaciated in countenance, and his body grew so feeble that several times he could barely hold his pen in his hands to write.

Even with the arrival of the annual supplies and other articles which were sent from Mexico City the most luxurious food Father Juan María ever took was

roasted corn, while his greatest treat was jerked beef roasted in the fire and afterwards hammered between two stones. Having lost his teeth, he had to resort to this method of softening it, and this he playfully called his rich mince-meat. Through such rigorous and extraordinary abstinence, and through the hardships he endured during the ten years he was a missionary among the Tarahumares, his sense of taste became so numbed that he lost all feeling of pleasure and could not tell whether foods were insipid or savory, a comment we have already made in another place in the first volume.

By thus mortifying the flesh, he dominated the body so that it would not rise up against the spirit; and he dominated it too by this heroic and constant control of the passions. The spirit he trained always to be subject to reason, employing one or another mortification to serve as a vigilant custodian for the very delicate virtue of chastity. He was so exacting in this mortification of the flesh that in him passions did not seem to exist. He always appeared serene, calm and good-natured. No one ever saw him irritated, nor heard him raise his own voice in a spirit of anger. Even when in the capacity of Superior he reprimanded some fault, he did it serenely, quietly, and gently in such a way that if he gave evidence of indignation at the fault at the same time he showed fatherly chastity toward the culprit whom he wished to feel corrected, but not ashamed or depressed.

When speaking he was always a model of saintliness; there was never a word heard that might give offense to anyone. All his words were measured and guided by reason to such a degree that no words of his could be called idle. This domination and control of the passions Father Juan María accomplished primarily through

the devotional of the flowers which he offered repeatedly to God and His Most Holy Mother. Since the most important of these flowers was the daily exercise of some heroic act to conquer a particular passion which seemed to predominate whether it were anger, or desire for self-glorification or applause and renown, whether laxness in spiritual observances or things of like nature, special attention and consideration was given to seizing every opportunity for winning a victory. These struggles he afterwards jotted down in a note-book which served as an incentive for further improvement and as a reminder to be grateful to God through whose grace and favor he had succeeded in conquering the passions. From this it may be gathered to what sublime heights of perfection Father María arrived by constantly aiming at achieving self-mastery.

15: HOW PERFECTLY FATHER JUAN MARÍA PRACTISED VIRTUE AND HIS VOWS OF OBEDIENCE

Obedience is a transcendental virtue that finds its life in the observance of the mandates of God and the church.[79] But among priests it is a special virtue consecrated under oath to God and, according to the teachings of the evangelical Doctor Saint Thomas it is relatively higher even than chastity and poverty which the priests likewise offer to God. On this account, and since

[79] Loyola desired this to be a conspicuous characteristic of his followers. In his famous letter on obedience he writes, "More easily may we suffer ourselves to be surpassed by other religious orders in fasting, watching, and other austerities which they practise according to their rule, but in true and perfect obedience and the abnegation of our will and judgment, I greatly desire, most dear brethren, that those who serve this society should be conspicuous."

Father Juan María was aware that Our Patron Saint Ignatius considered that this virtue was the test and mark by which true sons were known, he paid particular attention to this virtue even when it placed him in very trying and difficult situations, as the following particular instance will show.

Soon after his arrival in New Spain, fresh with the enthusiasm he had brought over from his own country and province to effect the salvation of the Indians, he applied himself diligently to learning the Mexican language. Just when he found he was able to preach and confess in it, he was sent by his superior to the missions of the Tarahumares, where the language of the Indians is quite different. Yet, without replying or offering any protest, he bowed his head and with ready obedience started out for the missions.

He remained in the Tarahumara district for ten years and after already founding two missions for the Gentiles who had been prepared under his direction for baptism and for joining the Holy Church, he was on the point of founding a third when he was appointed visitor-general for all the missions. No matter how averse he felt to receiving this appointment, which would prevent him from converting the heathen, as he so earnestly yearned to do, yet, in spite of it all, this obedient saintly man conquered his own desires, submitting without demure to the mandates of his superiors.

He filled the post of visitor, and when his dearest wish was to return to the Tarahumara district to establish new missions and pueblos there, and to bring together in them any Gentiles who might be converted, he received the appointment from Our Father-general making him rector of the college at Guadalajara. With-

out saying a word, he obeyed implicitly, when in the first place he saw it would hinder him from making progress with his missions. In the second place this appointment was quite contrary to his natural bent of being prompt to obey but not to command. Yet he bowed his will to God's, in conformity with the divine precepts, giving perfect obedience. Then, again, when his rectorship was finished, they sent him to be rector and master of novices at the college of Tepotzotlan. Upon this occasion with deep humility he presented to the Father Provincial and his Councillors the license he had already obtained from Our Father-general to undertake the conquest of California. But, in as much as the Father Provincial and his councillors did not think this project either expedient or feasible, he remained silent and bowed his neck to the yoke of obedience.

After reaching California he was summoned by the Father visitor-general of this province, Father Manuel Piñeyro to confer with the viceroy on various essential points touching on these new conversions. Although it was pointed out to him how far he would have to travel by land and sea and other drawbacks, particularly how he would suffer personally while this spiritual conquest was in its infancy, and that he could send some other Father who had sufficient knowledge of these tribes fully to satisfy the viceroy, yet his only wish was to undertake and enter upon a journey so greatly exposed to personal inconveniences and dangers.

The time came when, a few days after, the aforesaid Father visitor, who was also the vice-provincial had passed on to a fuller life, and the documents "in case of death" were opened, he found he had been appointed by Rome as provincial. It is true that in a testimonial he

had presented to the Council he had called attention to the very great dangers which might arise should he fail in these new conversions. But since these had received no consideration, he had to be content to remain here and to conquer his natural aversion to governing and ruling a province.

He gave fuller expression to his obedience when, in imitation of Jesus Christ he obeyed even to the death. The real fact was that, having secured from Our Father-general release from the heavy burden of provincial and having returned to his beloved California, he found a new order from Father Provincial Gaspar Rodero to return at once to Mexico City at the request of the viceroy, the Marques de Valero, who, in virtue of a rigid cedula issued by this Majesty, desired full information on all things pertaining to California.[80] Father Juan María was at this time at the advanced age of sixty-eight years, and a sufferer from chronic gravel. Although he knew that such a long and difficult journey would endanger his life, yet in spite of all this, he uttered not a word of protest or objection, obeying the voice of God in the request of his superiors and he succeeded with great difficulty in reaching Guadalajara where as we have already mentioned his apostolic life came to its saintly end.

Father Juan María's virtuous obedience shone forth even more resplendent in his acquiescence with anything and everything that seemed in any way to come from a superior; for, in the case of all superiors, according to the dictates of our Father and Saint Ignatius it was not the person that appeared to him but Christ who was

[80] Rodero was anxious further to colonize California but realized the difficulties involved. To explain the situation Salvatierra was summoned to Mexico City.

represented in every superior. Requests of the superiors were like Christ's own command for, according to our constitution, he has delegated to his subordinates his official authority. And so deep was his devotion to obedience that his greatest lament in his duties as superior was that he found he had no one over him to give him orders. But it is likely that upon these occasions he did what we know he did later on in California when, finding himself superior over all the missionaries who were working among the Indians he names Father Jayme Bravo as his personal superior, who was at the time Brother condjutor considering himself subject to him and doing whatever the Brother commanded. The preciseness and exactness of his obedience are well-known during his last illness when, in order to make him take water, sweets or some other thing, he was totally dependent on what Brother Jayme ordered or even suggested.

To perfect obedience belongs the punctilious observance of the regulations, in which are contained even the pinnacle of perfection. And from the beginning of his novitiate he made all his actions conform to the fullest extent with them so that he never noted one that disagreed with them. He made it one of the flowers which in the novenas and cuarentenas, he offered throughout the year to the Most Holy Mary and Her very blessed Son, namely, *to do his best day by day to comply perfectly with the Rules.*

This punctilious observance is well illustrated by one or two instances in which he gave a marvelous example of the great appreciation he had of our Rules. While rector of Guadalajara some pressing business arose which called him to Mexico City. On arriving

at Maximus College of St. Peter and St. Paul he went directly to see his superior; and as he was not in his room, he went out into the passage to wait for him. There a brother student saw him and, after greeting him invited him to his room to await the arrival of the Father rector. But Father Juan María, thanking him for his kind attention replied that he was not superior here and did not have the right or privilege to enter a room. And so he remained there waiting the Father rector's arrival. The other instance alluded to occurred when he was coming here from California on the shoulders of friends to die at Guadalajara. His carriers wished to enter by the church door so that, as he reached the college he might have the consolation of seeing and visiting in Her chapel the Most Holy Image of Loreto. But Father Juan María demurred, saying: "The regulations command us to enter by the regular house door." This he would have done had not the Father rector of the college been present and given him permission and orders to enter by way of the Holy House of Loreto. In doing this he won the double merit of not wishing to enter for fear of disobeying the rules and of entering when ordered to do so.

This same minute solicitude in the observance of the Rules he also showed in the zeal with which as superior he tried to have his subordinates observe and correct any faults he might notice in them. While rector at Guadalajara the community one day assembled to chant the litanies of the saints according to the inviolate custom in the whole Company. He observed that the Father, to whom was entrusted for the week the duty of giving out the responses to the congregation, pronounced them with such carelessness and rapidity that he gave

others no chance to follow in the proper order. Father Juan María could not tolerate this fault; and since the offense was public, wished that the reproof should also be public. For this reason when the litany was ended there before all the congregation he warned the Father that if his very rapid way of speaking should be strange to men upon earth, how indecent it was to speak in this manner to God and all the Saints in Heaven in the litanies. With these few remarks he administered his rebuke; and the whole audience took note and were greatly edified.

16: OTHER SIGNS THAT MANIFEST HOW THE MOST HOLY MARY WATCHED OVER FATHER JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA

Father Juan María having dedicated himself, especially from the time he gave up the world and consecrated himself to God in the Company, to the love of Jesus and His Most Holy Mother, and having always persevered with constancy in his devotion, there is no reason to doubt that the Lord and His Mother who are not blind to the devotion of their servants will return to Father Juan María extraordinary gifts and favors. But this great servant of God was so reticent and silent about spiritual manifestations that neither did he leave any written accounts of them, but even in the few papers he possessed which referred especially to the flowers he constantly offered to his beloved masters Jesus and Mary, he ordered to be burned before his death. The result is that he left the door closed to any definite and positive knowledge and use of these matters in this history. O that he had left us some indications for conjec-

turing how many and great were the gifts and favors with which he was endowed by the liberal hand of Jesus and Mary!

From the beginning of book I it is plain how intimate, close, and familiar was the tie between Father Juan María and the Venerable and devout Father Juan Bautista Zappa from the time they met in the novitiate of Quieri. Later on, when they came to have one heart and one soul, neither of them kept back anything he did not communicate to the other. It is then evident from the various letters and anecdotes of the enlightened Father Zappa how greatly favored by Heaven was Father Juan María. Having received the letter telling of his appointment to this province, Father Zappa immediately expressed his feelings on that day in these words: "My companion, Father Juan María de Salvatierra has obtained gracious permission for us to go together to the Indies. Praise be to the most pure Conception who has granted to us the coveted honor we have sought for seven years from the time of our noviceship." From this may be gathered that the same great Lady who revealed to Father Zappa when he was in Nice that his companion was to be sent at the same time with him to the Indies, revealed to him also that this favor was granted by the prayers of Her servant Juan María.

This may be confirmed by what an Italian Father has told us who, many years later, came as a missionary to this province. While in the college at Genoa this tradition was regarded as a true story. A Brother, praying in our inner chapel, who longed to go out to the Indies, and was fervently beseeching the Most Holy Mary to grant his request, heard within his heart the Lady speaking to him and saying: "Do not trouble to

ask this of Me, for it is now My wish to send him whom I have chosen, to wit, My servant, Juan María."

In a letter written by this same Venerable Father Zappa to Father Juan María when he was founding the mission of Chínipas he writes the following:

I want this Easter to give congratulations and offer felicitations to the great lady; the Most Holy Mary in Her holy image of Guadalupe. My congratulations were given along with those of Your Reverence. And upon the occasion the Great Lady deemed it fitting to speak of us both, for to me she spoke as follows: 'I have chosen you both. I have entered you into the Company of My Son, I have brought you to this country, and now I keep you apart; but I regard you both in the light of a Mother.' And so that no doubt should remain in my mind of such priceless words (Yes! Father and my Brother) this very gracious Mother acted upon me so that I should not be incredulous, as, with the intention of removing all doubts of His triumphant resurrection, Christ manifested himself to St. Thomas. For, turning to me she said: 'Do not doubt my son; and as the Son showed his wounds before the Apostle Thomas so I show to you my bosom and breasts!' and she deigned to have my unworthy eyes see her very chaste and pure breasts.

In another letter he remarks:

I saw the great Queen who was holding us two in this fashion: we were leaning upon one of her arms, her left arm was under our heads, and her right arm embraced us. With these marks of affection she tells us that we live only in God and remain dead to all else.

In another letter of December 2, 1677, when describing how he had paid a visit in both their names to Our Lady of Guadalupe he tells us:

The Virgin is always very beautiful and solicitous for us and sends to Your Reverence many greetings saying: 'Think of me and I shall think of thee!'

From this may be judged in what affection and esteem the Venerable Father Juan María was held by the

Most Holy Mary. We have already mentioned in another place how much the harmless Indian whom he brought from the missions and who slept in his room loved the Father because he was a saint and at night the Virgin talked with him. When he was rector at Tepotzotlan all his novices were convinced that the Great Lady made herself known to him; inasmuch as he talked of Her in his discourses and ordinary conversations just as if he were talking with her in person. Many of the novices testified to having many times seen his face emitting rays of light, and that when he was talking of the Most Holy Virgin his face became so illuminated that it seemed to send forth flames of fire.

We have previously cited in its proper place how, as he was singing the *salve* in Guadalajara on the very day when, at the plantation of Xalmolonga his cherished comrade Father Juan Bautista Zappa had passed away, there was revealed to him Our Lady in Her sacred Image del Populo, resplendent as the sun. In this she showed the particular glory she anew experienced at having received in Heaven her blessed servant and son Father Zappa.

There is no less proof of how fully the Queen granted her faithful servant Father Juan María all the petitions he asked in the Flowers of Her novenas and cuarentenas. But since these were favors that remained hidden in the grateful heart of the Venerable Father, we shall consider some special instances here in which he could not hide how the Royal Queen favored Her very devoted chaplain. While novice at Tepotzotlan Father Joseph Toledo Chipi contracted a severe malaria whose acute attacks brought him to the gateway of death. His rector and master, Father Juan María, sympathized

deeply with the sick novice, went to his room and bade him talk with him. The novice tried to but totally lacked the strength to do so. Thereupon the Venerable Father with a truly heroic humility and charity not only raised him with his own hands, but placed him on his shoulders and carried him to the Chapel of Loreto in our church, firmly enjoining him to commend himself devoutly to the Most Holy Virgin. He laid the sick man on the platform before the altar then kneeling down began to recite the litanies of Our Lady, the sick one replying to each verse, "Pray for me." An admirable thing truly! Just as the litanies were finished the sick man was completely restored to health to the surprise of all in the house, who a short time before despaired of the man's life. But the humble Father, fearing their praises, attributed it all to the faith of the sick man, saying: "This man must have been a good Jesuit for he knows how to beseach and implore the Lady. I only put him before Her and he negotiated his return to health."

No less wonderful was the following. There had raged at Tepotzotlan and in its environs a fatal epidemic which had caused the death of many Spaniards and Indians, and which was caused by the warm weather that was daily intensified by the lack of rains that year. Grieving over the persistency of this calamity Father Juan María had them remove from the chapel and tabernacle the sacred image of Loreto and carry it in a procession from the church where all could see Her, adore Her, and offer Her public prayers and supplications. He then announced a novena for the benefit of all the city who were present every day with the singing of Mass, rosary, and the litanies. On the afternoon of the last day, when Father Juan María had preached

an inspiring sermon they carried the holy image in procession. It was at this moment that the sky, which had been like bronze and without a cloud visible in all its expanse, just as the image of Our Lady was on the point of passing through the church, began to change its appearance close to the horizon. It was suddenly flecked with dark clouds which came rapidly nearer as the holy image was carried the short length of the village plaza. And furthermore, after it had been returned through the portals of the church a copious rain fell, lasting several hours. From that day on the sky continued beneficent supplying abundant rains, arresting the attention of all to this wonderful event. For this they gave many thanks to the great Mother of mercy and to Father Juan María as well; through whose intercession Heaven had bestowed so great benefit.

A confirmation of the way in which the very holy Lady of Loreto bestowed favors on Her loving and loyal servant Father Juan María and the benignity in hearing his prayers will be found in an incident which occurred at the very outset of the conquest of California. He had discovered among the soldiers of the presidio an obvious greed for the many pearls which were scattered along the coast and the desire they had in fact to search for them. He realized that to yield to this meant great discredit for the conquest, since it would give rise to suspicions that he had undertaken it with such an interest and more to search for pearls than for the precious flowers of the souls. If he forbade it they were apt to be discontented and quit their posts without permission, thus leaving the mission without a guard or defense in the event of an unexpected attack by the Indians such as they were always ready to make. In this

dilemma he turned as usual to his favorite refuge, the image of the Lady of Loreto, which was always in the tent or shelter at the spot where they landed. Here he fell on his knees to recite his rosary and ask for help in the trouble and doubt in which he found himself. While in the deep fervor of his prayer, he heard a noise like a glass breaking. Getting up to see what it was he discovered that three large fine pearls that the Image wore along with the fake and counterfeit ones had fallen on the matting before the Holy Image and had burst. This convinced him that the Virgin did not enjoy the California pearls and he was able to persuade the soldiers that the great Lady had not brought them here to search for material pearls but to defend the Fathers who had come to seek, on behalf of Christ, the far more precious pearls of souls. This decision, as we have said in another place, of not allowing either the soldiers or anyone else connected with the missions to engage in the search of pearls, has been held to, up to the present time, by the missionary Fathers.

17: REGARDING INDICATIONS WHICH SHOW HOW FATHER JUAN MARÍA DE SALVATIERRA WAS PROTECTED BY THE MOST HOLY MARY

The Sabbath is dedicated to Our Lady by many names among all the days of the week and so Father Juan María devoted every Saturday to special devotionals in honor of the Great Lady. The same sovereign Queen on these days seemed to take him under Her charge and to succor him in the chief events of his life. On Sabbath, May 25th, he embarked at Genoa for the port of Cadiz. On Sabbath, the first of June,

when the fleet in which he was coming took refuge in the port of Alicante to escape from the Moors, he began a revival meeting using all his companions for the sake of those on the fleet. On Sabbath, the fourteenth of September, he landed at Vera Cruz and celebrated the first Mass which he said in Mexico. On Sabbath, the twenty-first of the same month (September) he left Vera Cruz for Mexico City. On Sabbath, the nineteenth of October, he began his first year of theology. It was on Sabbath February fifth, 1697, that he received permission from the governor-superior to enter California. The first day of October, on Sabbath, he embarked at Yaqui to begin this apostolic conquest. On Sabbath, the nineteenth of October, he reached California and took possession of the country of Mary calling this spot the "Camp of Loreto." The following Sabbath, the twenty-sixth of this same month, he placed the royal image in Her tabernacle. One Sabbath the church was begun and when completed was dedicated on a Sabbath; while on another Sabbath the two chapels or houses of Loreto in Mexico City and Guadalajara were begun and later dedicated.

And what shall I say about the principal events in the conquest of California? Father Juan María himself, Father Juan de Ugarte, and the missionaries proved by experience that on a Sabbath, or on another day, specially dedicated during the year to Our Lady, remarkable manifestations took place. On one occasion this was shown in their being saved from terrific tempests and perils of the sea; again in bringing calm to turbulent hostile peoples; at another time in beginning new buildings and dedicating their churches. All of

which indicates the special protection the Most Holy Mary afforded the conquest and above all her faithful servant, who undertook it in Her name and carried it on under Her protection.

Father Juan María knew he was greatly favored by Her in all the actions and events of his life, not only by the favors and gifts which he received in his inmost soul but by the way in which his own person was protected from external dangers and ills. When this Father reached Tarahumara he wrote to Father Zappa that on this long journey he had been carried "in the hands of the Blessed Virgin." This refers to the constant watchfulness of Mary over his safety during so long a journey. He always carried on his breast two pictures, one of the Virgin of Loreto and another of Our Lady of Guadalupe, while a third was of his special patron St. Francis Xavier, through whose hands he offered his prayers to the Most Holy Mary. It is indeed a remarkable thing that he could make the long journey of more than four hundred leagues with a single mule that he took from Mexico City and that he could journey without rest day after day, travelling over roads little frequented, sleeping ordinarily in the wilderness, and yet preserve his vigor, health and courage to the end of his journey. This he could never have accomplished if he had not kept with him his Mother and protector the Most Holy Mary, who played the role of Angel by carrying him in her hands.

And how many times did the great Lady save his life so that he did not perish at the hands of hostile Indians both in the Tarahumara country as well as in California? In the general assault which was made against the settlement at Loreto by four tribes who conspired to

take the lives of the Father and his soldiers. On three occasions his life was in danger, once when he went out from the settlement to warn the Indians not to come near a swivel-gun which they were going to discharge. They replied to him by letting fly the three arrows simultaneously, which slid off his clothing without touching his body. On another occasion when the Father was returning to the camp they shot the swivel-gun which burst and split into seven pieces of bronze that flew over the head of the Father and his companions without harming them. On the third occasion he was in the thick of the fight, that small camp being surrounded on all sides by four hostile tribes who scattered innumerable arrows and stones over the few defenders stationed within and no one was in danger in the assault. And, so they all might know from whose hand came so great a boon he desired the Lady to arrange that the larger number of the arrows should go to the pavilion or shelter which housed the image of Loreto. Here they found them sticking as if the great Mother of God wished to receive the arrows that might wound or kill Her servant and his comrades.

From many more dangers the Most Holy Mary saved Father Juan María which we have referred to especially in the first volume of this history. And to conclude this chapter it is only necessary to mention how the Great Lady saved him from death when he was in danger of losing his life to save the soul of a Gentile. While in California the Father was summoned to a distant ranch where an Indian was at the point of death and was asking for the Father to baptize him. He immediately started on his way following his guide; but

after walking for a short while he unexpectedly found himself surrounded by steep precipices and impassable ravines. The Father was greatly perplexed and looking about him could see nothing but crags, peaks, and precipices. In his perplexity he recommended his soul to the Lady of Loreto asking advice and assistance in his trouble and pressing danger; and he felt himself moved to give the mule the reins and let her go where she chose. The mule with great care made its way from crag to crag and from ravine to ravine. At length, after a considerable time, it brought the Father in sight of the rancheria which was his destination. And after looking everywhere he could not find the Indian who guided him. After arriving at the rancheria, and finding the sick Indian who was seeking baptism, he catechised him, and discovering he was well prepared he gave him baptism. Since he was close to death he encouraged him with pious exhortations and words of comfort until he gave his soul to God. This gave unspeakable satisfaction to Father Juan María who felt certain that this Indian was a chosen one and through the grace of baptism had ascended to Heaven; and that the evil one in order to prevent the spiritual welfare and salvation of this soul had led him off the road and separated him from his guide. Yet we as pious folk can imagine that the guide who summoned him and later disappeared was probably the guardian Angel of the very fortunate dying man.

18: THE GIFT OF PROPHECY WHICH GOD BESTOWED ON FATHER JUAN MARÍA

The gift of prophecy is one of those gifts known as *gratis datas* (freely given) which do not sanctify the

soul like habitual grace since, as a usual thing God only imparts this to his most trusted servants and friends. In proof of this there was Father Juan María de Salvatierra to whom was granted the gift of prophecy, a gift which enables the servants of God to know the future as if they were present, the most hidden thing as if it were obvious, and what is farthest away as if it were in plain sight and open. We have clear and manifest proofs of all this in this great servant of God, Father Alexandro Romano – a provincial belonging to the province who passed away while president of the *Casa Professa* (Professed House) and who was also procurator in Mexico City for California – who was very closely in touch with Father Juan María and from his many experiences was wont to state that in affairs and business pertaining to California he felt sure that God concealed nothing from Father Juan María since he foresaw everything before it happened.

When Father Salvatierra went out, to solicit alms for the conquest of California, to see the Marquis de Villa-Puente and received a very moderate sum, the Marquis said that, for the time being, his resources would not permit him to give more since they were being diverted into other pious organizations, one of them was a convent and church for the barefoot Franciscan friars of Tacubaya which he built and erected from the foundations. Thanking him for the alms the Venerable Father told him that "The California missions would be well-provided for and assured when eventually they had an endowment of 200,000 *pesos*." At the time the Marquis considered this statement as impossible. But he saw it all fulfilled within thirty-six years. For toward the end of the year of 1734 a letter was received by Brother

Jayme Bravo who was procurator at the mission of Loreto for all these missions, that then the prophecy had been fulfilled since at the time the alms exceeded 200,000 *pesos*, that the Marquis had given California, and that this very apostolic mission was then provided for and assured.

When, after licenses had been secured, he left Mexico City to begin his desired conquest he came to the College at Tepotzotlan, and while in the church with some Fathers he pointed with his hand to a spot before the oratory of the Lady of Loreto's chapel.

"My Fathers," he said, "hither must come the first fruits of the Californias." The Fathers were taken aback, not fathoming the significance of this utterance. But, after several years had passed, when he returned the first time from the Californias and assumed the office of provincial, he brought with him his four Californian Indians from among those recently converted and baptized, one of whom he left a sick man in Tepotzotlan. One evening the Father suddenly asked for a mule and started hastily for this pueblo which was about five leagues from Mexico City. He found the invalid in a dangerous condition, and confessed him in his own tongue. He then administered the viaticum and extreme unction, and comforted his last moments; and buried the deceased in this very place which he had pointed out so many years before.

He uttered another notable prophecy. It was at a time when Father Clemente Guillen and Juan de Guendulain were novices there, and when they went together to take leave of their loved master he greeted them with affectionate kindliness. "Rejoice, my dear lads," he said embracing them, "for you shall both go to California:

but one of you will remain, the other will return." This prophecy was accurately fulfilled for, many years later after their studies were completed, and they had read philosophy in Oaxaca, Father Clemente Guillen, having asked to be sent to the California missions, received this appointment and labored gloriously there until he died. Father Guendulain also after many years was appointed visitor-general for all our missions and in this capacity likewise visited California, later returning to the Province.

Leaving Tepotzotlan, Father Juan María came to the city of Valladolid and went out immediately to ask alms for the desired conquest of California. On the street he met Dr. Don Juan Fernando Machado, prebendary of that sacred church which he was leaving to assist at an anniversary. Accosting him in a friendly manner the Father remarked: "Señor Don Juan, how fortunate I have been to run across you. I am begging alms for my Californians. Now please let me have fourteen *pesos* that you got for the anniversary. You do not need them and they will be useful to me." After hearing this the prebendary replied gayly: "My Father, have you been talking with the devil? Who has told you fourteen *pesos* have been given me? Here, you may have them, for I am happy to employ them in so worthy a virtue." With these few words he took out his package where he had placed them, expressing not only his pleasure but his wonder at the divine spirit which dwelt in the Father.

At the time of the loss of the new vessel from California when Father Benito Guisi perished at sea, Fathers Clemente Guillen and Jacobo-Doye saved themselves in a canoe, and before anyone learned in Califor-

nia of the calamity, Father Juan María anticipated it. This was known from letters he sent in an old boat to Don Juan Rodondo Salvador to Señor Mirando, attorney for Guadalajara and to Father Alexandro Romano. In this he added another matter which was likewise of the nature of a prophecy; his exhortation to them to be courageous, since a boat would arrive from Peru which he could purchase for their use to replace the lost one. This came to pass to the wonderment of Father Alexandro.

In a meeting which was held by the viceroy to discuss affairs pertaining to California and which was attended by our procurator, the Father Alexandro Romano previously referred to, His Excellency declared the intention he had of founding colonies of Spaniards in California. The Father took exception to this, alleging the grave inconveniences that would result from these colonies. He finally concluded by saying that without the advice of Father Juan María who had practical experience in this country he neither could nor would take any definite and final action on this point. Therefore it was left in abeyance until Father Juan María should give his opinion. A few days later when, naturally, it was impossible for notice to have reached California, Father Romano received word from Father Salvatierra thanking him for the good word he had spoken at this meeting in behalf of California.

And also, when His Excellency the Duke of Linares, Viceroy of Mexico had set aside a certain donation for the California missions, he received a letter within a short time, from Father Juan María thanking him for this donation.[81] From this His Excellency felt certain

[81] The Duke of Linares succeeded Albuquerque in 1710 as viceroy of Mexico. Upon his death he left 5,000 *pesos* to the California missions.

that through some light from Heaven the Father had learned of this gift of alms, even before he had actually bestowed it, since the letter arrived but shortly after its bestowal. Many other prophecies were ascribed to Father Juan María which he had made in relation to California but they are omitted here since, after the lapse of so much time many of those who could certify and testify to them have passed away. I shall now proceed to mention other more authentic instances from other places.

The year 1715 witnessed the grave calamity of the wrecking of our navy in the straights of Bahama and the loss of two Fathers who were going to Europe as procurators for this province. Father Pedro Ignacio de Loyola and Father Antonio de Figueroa Valdez. This happened on the 31st day of July, notice of it reaching Mexico on November 21st. Now that the death of Father Loyola, who had been appointed Provincial in the packet of the new administration which shortly before had been opened, was certain, it became necessary to open the packet "in case of death" which named as his successor Father Gaspar Rodero. In the early part of January this Father Provincial received a letter from Father Juan María addressing him as his provincial and superior in spite of the fact that in the short space of a month and a half this information could not possibly have reached California nor could letters have come to him. In these letters he said that one of the old men of California had seen the wrecking of the vessels and the death of the two Fathers with great sorrow and anguish of heart. But all this was changed into pleasure when, a few days later, as he was starting to celebrate the holy sacrifice of Mass, there appeared before him

Father Francisco de Arteaga Provincial who was of this province and who had died not long ago, and Father Pedro Ignatius de Loyola. Thinking they had come to ask him for indulgences, he desired to offer a Mass for them. But Father Arteaga, whose face was beaming with happiness, told him it was no longer necessary to render thanks to God adding what we have already touched upon that Father Loyola had passed a longer time in purgatory than Father Figueroa because of the burden he had carried as superior. This letter was read by Father Provincial Gaspar Rodero to several Fathers on January 5th, on the vespers of Epiphaney.

An aged professed Father who had been a novice under Father Juan María, testified in writing that the day he was to begin his novitiate in Tepotzotlan he reached there at one o'clock and when his rector ordered something for him to eat he declined saying he had already dined. The Father smilingly replied: "Eat, my dear fellows, it is not right for you to say you have dined on the sausages and pork that you had for breakfast on the bridge." They listened to him in amazement wondering how he could have known of the delicacies they had brought with them for the journey. That very evening he commenced the exercises which began the first probation of novices and the brother who took him to dinner told him that the Father rector on the previous day had dismissed from the Company a novice. When the latter sought to get back the furniture that the novices use, the Father said: "Leave them as they are, tomorrow someone else will come who will find them useful." On the third day the Father rector came to his room to see him and said: "My dear fellow, remember how Saint Mathias entered the apostleship in place

of Judas and give devout thanks to God who has chosen you in place of one whom we dismissed the day before your arrival, and those things that have been mentioned were his jewels." The informant concluded his remarks with these modest words: "All had come to pass except my being Saint Mathias, for the novice referred to has become a Judas."

In the college there was a certain Father who seemed very downcast and burdened by some misfortune that had happened to him there. To get away from his surroundings he requested Father Juan María, who was then provincial, to change him to some other college. Sympathizing with his trouble the Father granted his request; but to comfort and encourage him told him it might have been foreseen, since he was destined to suffer many tribulations. Yet finally he would have the comfort of dying in the Company. All happened as Father Juan María had prophesied and whatever hardships he endured he felt greatly consoled, saying: "Let sorrows come so long as I may die in the Company." And this was what occurred for, after several years of suffering he experienced the joy of dying very peacefully and quietly in the Company.

He spoke also in a prophetic spirit to a prominent and very wealthy lady who lived in the city of Oaxaca. Having come to visit the college in this city as provincial, Father Juan María went one day to pay her a visit, in compliance with the laws of courtesy. As he was about to take leave of her he said, with much gentleness and compassion: "Ah Lady, What a life is in store for you and what troubles! Strengthen yourself to bear them with patience and resignation as the will of God, since the reward is in Heaven." This prophecy per-

plexed the good Lady, for she could not imagine what hardships could befall her since she was then living in great prosperity and abundance. Yet, within a short time, his prophecy began to justify itself. The husband who had loved her tenderly changed his love to an active dislike for her, treating her so roughly that life became unbearable. Her husband died and after his death she suffered great trials and persecutions. She saw herself deprived of her own house and despoiled of all her belongings and was exposed to great hardships because of her poverty and lack of the necessities of life. To a Father instructor who lived in our college and who came to visit her she said: "Father, when some fresh trouble comes to me I do not think of it but I think of those that are to follow, just as was told me by the Saintly Father and when I remember his words of consolation I am enabled to bear it all patiently."

When he was rector of Guadalajara, Father Juan María overheard two students discussing what position in life would best suit them. One remarked that, for his part, his inclination was to belong to the Company. Turning to him the Father said: "No, no, you will marry, and your friend will be a priest." Exactly what Father Juan María foretold came to pass some years later.

Don Matheo Basurto who came to Mexico in the household of the viceroy, the Count of Montezuma, testified to the two prophecies with which we shall conclude this chapter. The first instance was one in which he had entrusted to his attorney in Spain a large sum of money to meet calls upon him, the news reached him that the attorney had gone into bankruptcy and had lost all the funds in his care. At the time Father Juan María

was provincial and was visiting at the house of Don Andres Cesarini, father-in-law of the aforesaid D. Matheo, who began to bewail his misfortune in having lost all his funds through the bankruptcy of this attorney. Father Juan María listened to him, and as he rose to leave he went over to Don Matheo and said, giving him a slap on the shoulder, "Do not be discouraged, D. Matheo, for although you will lose some you will recover a good part of your funds." And it was not long before he received from his attorney a letter giving a statement of his bankruptcy. It was a source of satisfaction to find that the man had made over to him a sum of 13,000 *pesos* which he had owing to him in Peru, and which within a short time he easily recovered. To this he added another sum amounting to 1,000 *pesos*, which he was also able to recover. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the servant of God.

The second instance occurred when Don Matheo who had a distinct horror of the sea – for he had had a narrow escape from being shipwrecked when he came over from Spain – had resolved never to go to sea again. From this resolution he never wavered during a period of ten years. As Father Juan María was on the point of returning to California while visiting a brother-in-law of Don Matheo he took two images of the Lady of Loreto, and gave them to him, one being for his sister, the wife of Don Matheo, and another for Don Matheo himself; asking him to tell the latter that if he would show her great devotion She would watch over him carefully when he went to sea. This advice so puzzled D. Matheo that he could not restrain his curiosity, and went on the following day to visit Father Juan María and ask him why he had sent him this mes-

sage when he had distinctly resolved never to go to sea again. This was the Father's reply: "Pay no attention to this and cherish the image, my dear Don Matheo, and show Her every devotion and the great Lady will watch over you in the perils of the sea."

All happened as was prophecied; for, some time in the same year, he was forced to leave for Spain. What seemed particularly remarkable to Don Matheo was the fact that he suddenly discovered he had lost all fear – a fear which had lasted so long, – of the sea. After embarking he was twice in serious peril of falling into the hands of dangerous pirates and the second time in order to escape them, the ship put in at the shores of Galicia, but so badly damaged that she was ready to founder. It was then that Don Matheo remembered what Father Juan María had told him and took out the image of Our Lady. In a loud voice he told his comrades on shipboard that he put all his trust in this image that had been given him by a very holy Father and that he also promised to share it with all if they promised to show it every devotion.

All made this promise and together with them Don Matheo offered a prayer to the Virgin of Loreto. Before these were over a number of small vessels hove in sight coming from the port to their rescue. And in spite of their haste to leave which was natural in view of the danger in which they found themselves and their joy at getting away from the vessel now on the point of sinking, they gave thanks to the Great Mother of Mercy for Her favor. More than any was Don Matheo grateful when he saw how wholly had been fulfilled the prophecy of his beloved and Venerable Father Juan María de Salvatierra.

This gift and ability to prophecy can penetrate even into the inmost and most hidden part of the heart. In this respect Father Juan María was quite remarkable for when he was Master of novices everyone was of the opinion that their Saintly Master knew their inmost thoughts. It was particularly so when there was some inner discontent or when a remedy was required for some temptation, for then he summoned them and by telling them what was troubling them he paved the way for confidences, so they might feel free to come to him with the temptation of their souls.

A very delightful and unusual incident happened to one of his novices. One evening during vacation when they had gone down into the garden and with them their rector Father Juan María, he observed that two of them dropped behind the Father. Turning around suddenly he called them and said to all the brothers: "Let us go into the billiard room and amuse ourselves there, my dear brothers." They went in and after the Father had sat down he said to one of them: "Brother, dust off this table for billiards for it is very dusty." And when he went to dust it off with one of the sleeves of his garment the Father said to him: "No, my son, dust it with the other sleeve." When the Father Juan María exclaimed: "Look, my son, and observe how the peaches and apricots which you have hidden are being crushed." The novice was astonished and embarrassed when he found he had been caught taking fruit without permission; while the rest were lost in admiration over the Saintly Father's knowledge of hidden things. Then he gave them a profitable talk citing the example of that nun who became possessed of the devil because she ate a lettuce from the garden without permission.

When he was rector at Guadalajara a certain priest of another Order was thinking over a matter of importance and meditating how he should handle it. While he was thus engaged Father Juan María entered his cell saying he had come to visit him. The priest thanked him heartily for the visit. "On this point what might be done is this and this," said Father Juan María to him. Astounded at finding his thought discovered the priest knelt at his feet and thanked him for the comfort and joy he derived from the advice and decision he had given him.

A priest from our Company residing in the college at Guadalajara was so perturbed by a great sorrow that from sheer worry he fell ill and was obliged to go to bed. At this time Father Juan María had just arrived from California seriously ill with the malady with which he died in that city. When the priest found himself so worn out with his overwhelming sorrow that he fell asleep, Father Juan María appeared before him as he was asleep, and coming up to him told him what he must do for his soul's relief. Awakening suddenly he did what the Father had advised him to do and experienced the relief he so earnestly desired. A few days later Father Juan María reached Guadalajara and this Father hastened at once to visit him and make him welcome. He had no opportunity to tell him of the object of his visit but only to exchange the customary greetings and religious courtesies. But as he was leaving the Father merely saids these words: "My son, no going back on a promise!" And the Father realized that he had briefly told him what he had recently said to him in his sleep.

19: HOW FATHER JUAN MARÍA RESTORED HEALTH TO MANY SICK PEOPLE THROUGH HIS PRAYERS

One of the benefactions God is able to bestow on his most cherished friends is to render effective their prayers for restoring health to the sick whose lives are already despaired of. In reference to this we already in its proper place spoke of the health he gave to a collegian in curing him of a sunstroke from which he suffered merely by making the sign of the cross over his forehead and repeating words from the Gospel. He also obtained by entreaty Father Provincial Juan de Palacios's restoration to health by invoking Our Lady of Loreto; and also with this same invocation he obtained it for his novice, Brother Joseph Toledo Chipi. I shall add here several other cures which were considered miracles.

When provincial, he went on a visit to the college of Puebla, and having entered our college of the Holy Spirit in the evening, going to kneel before the Most Holy Sacrament as is the custom, he asked the Father Rector for a companion. Without further delay for relaxation he went on to the college of San Ildefonso, this haste causing much surprise to the inmates of the college, since they were not expecting it. Then he asked to be shown to the room of Brother Manuel Antonio Perez, the temporary coadjutor, whom he found dangerously ill with a disease of the hip. He had already received the Sacraments and extreme unction and being so despaired of by the physicians that the priests of the college took turns in watching over him expecting his death at any moment. He went into the sick room and requested all to leave so he could be alone with the sick man, and he remained with him for more than a quarter

of an hour. When he came out he was very happy, remarking: "He will not die because he is much strengthened." What Father Juan María did at this time no one knew. But what everyone knew was that when a certain Father went immediately afterwards to the sick man's room and found him sitting up in bed he asked them: "Who has been here?" When they told him that it was the Father Provincial who had just come to that city, the sick man said, "I feel better already." From that day on he began to improve steadily and within a few days he got up, and lived for many years afterwards. He ascribed his life and his health to his Holy Master who had been master to him in the novitiate.

There was a very notable instance in the same city of Puebla which occurred to brother Antonio de Roa, procurator for the college at Tepotzotlan who had just arrived in the city on business for his college. Upon his arrival he was directed to see Father Provincial Juan María who said to him: "Old fellow, we shall have a visit later. The fact of the matter is that I must call a doctor to prescribe some cathartic medicine for you." The brother thought this decision very strange, but he obeyed punctiliously and when the Doctor came it was with the information that he had the perscription for the cathartic medicine. The same day that he took the medicine he was visited by the Provincial in the evening, who asked him how he was feeling. He told him he was feeling very well and had gotten much relief from it, but that he was extremely thirsty. The Father then told him to drink some cold water and although the brother refused to drink thinking it might be harmful, "It will not do any harm," said the Father Provin-

cial, "drink it, I think you need it." They brought it to him and thereupon he left him.

By this opportune treatment, the feverish condition from which he suffered was dispelled and he had more copious discharges than with the cathartic. Coming to see him the next day the Father Provincial said to him: "Brother Antonio, you do not know the evil effects the sun had on your body as it beat down on the high-way. A stroke threatened you which might have deprived you of your life. Give thanks to God that you have been preserved with this medicine." Brother Roa realized the truth of this and gave heartfelt thanks to God for having, through the medium of Father Juan María received this benefit.

D. Pedro Vidarte, curate of the sacrarium of the holy cathedral of Guadalajara was on his bed, so violently ill of gravel that his life was despaired of by the doctors. He was very anxious to have Father Juan María come to see him not so much because he thought he might cure him, as to find some comfort for the great fears that came upon him in leaving so soon to appear before Divine Tribunal. Such being his wishes, although the sick man had not called him, Father Juan María entered the doors, having been prompted by God to come and see him. After greeting him and showing great sympathy with his suffering, he said: "Don Pedro, we must needs pray to the Lady." The sick man replied to him by saying that the violence of his attacks quite deprived him of vitality. However, Father Juan María began immediately to say an Ave Maria and when it was over Don Pedro discharged a large stone. Thereupon he got well and soon got rid of all his trouble. He

was deeply grateful for the benefit he had received from the Mother of God by the prayer of their very faithful servant.

In the same city there was also a dying nun in the convent of Santa Maria de Gracia. They called Father Juan María at midnight to help her to die in peace. The Father started out and when he reached the sick woman's bedside he recited a Gospel passage and asked: "Servant of God, what is this trouble?" "Father," was the enjoinder, "without a doubt I am dying." "This is not so," the servant of God answered, "do not be spiritless, but rise in the morning and take communion with the others." With these few words he departed and returned to the college while the invalid felt so much better that she was able to arise in the morning. She took communion and lived twenty years thereafter.

From what has been told in this chapter we may infer that Father Juan María's power of healing was not limited to the few instances described, but extended to very many sick who had the needed health miraculously restored to them. Nevertheless, very many things remained hidden for, during the thirty years he passed as a missionary among the Tarahumares and in California, he lived for the most part alone with his Indians, where there were no observant eyes which could note such happenings, as in those uninhabited lands, doctors and medicines were totally unknown and very many might have lost their lives had it not been for the help of the Gospel messages and prayers with which Father Juan María healed them. It is known that Father Juan María had among his very paltry treasures a china cup in which he administered drinks and medicines to the sick Californians; it was common rumor that drinking

from this cup brought strength and convalescence. Its fame spread even to Guadalajara and to Dr. D. Christobal de Mazariegos whom we have mentioned before. He begged very insistently to be allowed to acquire it; and having succeeded he cherished it, – so he tells us in his report, – as a relic of the Venerable Father and that he knew from experience that any purgatives they took in it had excellent results.

No less estimable are the spiritual cures which, moved by a special light, Father Juan María wrought in persons who, had not this servant of the Lord promptly aided them, would have perished. The first one of these cures took place in the Tarahumara missions. While walking along the road one day he suddenly quickened his pace and arrived at the cottage of a Gentile woman, whom he asked if he might make a fire to warm some water. She left him in her humble hut to get some wood, and, in the meantime, since there was no one to see him he took some water and baptized the heathen woman's infant son who was dying. It seems as if God had given him foresight, for in a short time the child died, to the great satisfaction of the Venerable Father, who saw that without its mother's knowing and being able to forbid it, it proceeded to the kingdom of heaven.

The second incident occurred at Guadalajara. When rector of the college he had gone to the hacienda of Toluquilla a short distance from the city alone with the Father Fernando Reynoso, who was at the time brother-instructor of grammar in that college. Suddenly he told him to put on his hat, that they might go for a walk to the pueblo of Toluquilla. Arriving there they were passing a certain house when he said to his companion: "Let us go in here and pay a visit." They went in and

the visit meant to aid a sick Indian nearing death. The Father confessed him and went on to comfort him with pious words and glowing instances of virtues until, after a time, he gave up his soul to God. Then, having accomplished this errand of mercy, he returned to the hacienda. His companion was convinced that this was not a coincidence but that, by special grace of Heaven, Father Juan María had been advised of the grave danger menacing the dying man and had been moved by God to go and aid him.

20: SOME MARVELOUS EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF THE VENERABLE FATHER

The opinion and estimation that all showed they had of the great saintliness of Father Juan María de Salvatierra after his death was very similar to what the bishop, presidents, judges, prebendaries, priests and the people as a whole had displayed, all regularly calling him the saintly Father Salvatierra. We have already seen the enthusiasm in the villages at receiving him, visiting him, and kissing his hands when he was carried ill to Guadalajara on the shoulders of the Indians; also the demonstrations that were made over his burial, everyone thinking it a great joy to have something that had belonged to him to cherish as a very precious relic. And with the fragments of his garments, many sick people recovered their health. This was so notorious in Guadalajara that after only twelve or fourteen days had elapsed since his death to the day when his obsequies were celebrated, Father Feliciano Pimental in the sermon he preached that day to an immense gathering of all classes of people could state without hesitation, and

by the common rumor that was circulating spoke the following words:

When Father Juan María died there was raging in this city a local epidemic of fever, which had prostrated many; but as soon as he was buried, the devotees who had acquired as relics bits of his garments and some rags the departed one had used in his last illness began to apply them with faith and devotion to the sick, asking God to restore them to health because of the merits of his servant. Thereupon they experienced the fruit of their confidence for, during those days, many were restored to health who had been at death's door until the day of his obsequies.

This the preacher declared before that large gathering in which he had many who could testify to their recovered health. We can conjecture from this that many others would afterwards continue to experience an improvement in health through the merits of this great servant of God. But since there were none who were curious enough to note them down and leave a record of them we lack information of the many instances of cases which might serve in this history to glorify God and increase the esteem and appreciation of the holiness of His servant.

I shall refer only to two notable instances that reflect great honor not only on Father Juan María but also on his devoted comrade the Venerable and Apostolic Father Juan Bautista Zappa. In the city of Patzquaro there lived in our college a secular student who was very poor and who had lost his father and mother. He fell seriously ill of a dangerous fever. There was a Father in the college who had a high opinion of some Latin poems which Father Zappa had composed and written down in his own handwriting (in a letter), in praise and honor of the birth of Christ; and received them from Father Juan María as he passed through the

place on his way to California. Taking pity on the sick man this Father carried the verses to him wrapped in a cover, feeling sure that with these he was bringing him health. So he placed them under the pillow, exhorting him to commend himself to the Most Holy Virgin who was venerated with the title of Our Lady of health in this city, and whose temple was dedicated on the following day, the day of the Conception. He also made him promise to fast on the Sabbaths and to say his rosary daily, and so that the lady might better hear him, to use as intercessions Fathers Juan Bautista Zappa and Juan María de Salvatierra. This the sick man did and the fever was running its course, at the beginning in a stealthy way, but later with open malignity, so that he was brought near the point of death. He found himself overcome and, having lost the use of his faculties, he lay motionless until those present began to think he had breathed his last.

While in this last critical moment, a Father happened to arrive and with some drops of oil from the lamp of Our Lady of health, annointed the invalid, asking the Most Holy Virgin in behalf of the merits of her two servants Father Zappa and Father Salvatierra to deign to restore to health the dying one, if such seemed best. A wonderful thing happened. The seizure instantly ceased and passed away, his faculties returned to him and he began to speak and give thanks to God for so remarkable a boon. The fever having left him in a few days, he was restored to perfect health.

Of another sort elsewhere was the marvel that God wrought in a certain place in this province through the intercession of his two servants. There lived there a young matron whose husband had been absent for sev-

eral years. And when she least expected it, news came of his approaching arrival, and in a way that found her in a bad fix, as she was in the last stage of pregnancy. The return of her husband was so certain and sudden that he had already sent, together with the notice of his arrival, part of his belongings. The miserable woman, perturbed over the unexpected event which would mean nothing less than the loss of her honor and life, hastened to our house for aid and advice. She consulted a Father on the situation and he gave her a letter he had from Father Juan María, advising her to plead as intercessors with God, the merits of this Father and his saintly companion, Father Zappa. This the troubled woman did and in a dilemma where a solution seemed impossible, the result more than justified their hopes. For it happened that when the husband had already mentioned the day on which he was to leave the place where he was staying, on his way home something came up which detained him for that day. The next day the same thing happened and on the days following. In this way, without being aware of it, he was detained for a period of four months. This was sufficient time for the afflicted woman to get out of her trouble and being relieved from her burden she was saved from the danger threatening her honor and life because she relied on the intercession of the two Venerable saintly men and faithful servants of Jesus and Mary. This now brings to a conclusion this history of the Marian Apostle, Father Juan María de Salvatierra which asks the divine clemency so that it may be of service to all. Especially may it serve as a powerful stimulus to the Jesuits to imitate his heroic virtues and his zeal for saving souls which our Apostolic Institutes demand.

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